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A TRANSLATION  
OF THE  
SEIR MUTAQHERIN,  
OR  
VIEW OF MODERN TIMES, &c.

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CONTENTS of the III. VOLUME in FOUR SECTIONS.

*ORIGIN and character of Aali-mahmed-Robilah, a Gentoo herdj-man, adopted by an Afghan, which Aaly-Robilah founds in Hindostan a Principality—Origin of Ahmed-Shah, who founds on the confines of Hindia and Persia a new Monarchy, called of the Abdallies or of the D8rranies—The Syks, once an order of Mendicants, turn warriors, and found a powerful state, set up an Emperor of their own—Account of Mahmed Shah, Nizam-el-Mulk, the Vizir-Comer-eddin-Qhan, and the minister Emir-Qhan, four illustrious personages, who all die within the year. Debli plundered and sacked by the Abdallies, who invade Hindostan seven times—The French, grown powerful in Decan, are finally ruined by the English—Curious account of the origin of the Marbatta nation, and Marbatta monarchs, which latter split in two families—Ahmed-Shah, and Aalemgbir second, two successive Emperors of Hindostan, blinded and set aside—Shudjab-ed-dö8lah—Ruin of the Empire of Hindostan.*

*—Conquests*

# C O N T E N T S.

—*Conquests and overgrown power of the English all over India, stopped short by wars and confederacies—Yenghi-D8nia, or America, revolts against the English, who wage war also with the Franssians, the Espan-yols, and the Hollanders, pervade all Decan, but are worsted by the Marbattas—The History of Aorenzib, resumed—He conquers the two kingdoms of Bidjap8r and Haider-abad, and puts an end to two powerful Dinasties—Curious account of the siege of Haider-abad, and lastly of Golcondah it's fortrefs.*

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## CONTENTS of SECTION FIFTEENTH, being the FIRST of III. VOLUME.

*SEVERAL Viceroy's of high character are sent for to Court, where Ab8l Mansor-Qhan, one of these, appears with a retinue equally pompous and formidable—Curious Anecdote of Mahmed-yar, an officer of great resolution—Origin of Aaly-Mahmed-Rokila, the founder of the Rokila Colony.—Origin of the Abdali monarch—Emir-Qhan killed by Mahmed-Shah's order—Origin of Ahmed-Shah-Abdali, who founds a new monarchy—He marches into Hindostan, takes possession of two Provinces, and is defeated in a bloody battle—Heroical character of C8t8b-eddin-Qhan—Our Author's father makes a friend of him—Death of Mahmed-Shah, who is succeeded by his son Ahmed-Shah—Historical account of the private life of four illustrious personages, who died within a little distance from each other: Emir-Qhan, Nizam-el-Mulk, Camer-eddin-Qhan and Mahmed-Shah—Weak administration of his son, Ahmed-Shah, who becomes crapulous, whilst his mother 8dem-Bay, gives up both her heart and person, to the Eunuch Djavid-Qhan, whom the Vizir Ab8l-Mans8r-Qhan cannot bear—Dissentions, and a civil war in the Rohilcund, fomented by the Vizir, who, jealous of the neighbourhood of so warlike a tribe as the Rohilah's to his country of A8d, resolves to subdue such restless neighbours—Some of the Rohilahs submit: put under the Administration of Newol-Ray, a man whose excesses and violences cause a Re-*  
*volt—*

# C O N T E N T S.

*volt—An Afghan Heroine rouses the whole nation:—Nevol-Ray defeated and slain—The Vizir, already much incensed, marches against the Afghans—By the way his unruly Moghol troops plunder and sack the town of Barr, wholly inhabited by Séyds—The Vizir, in despair at such a calamity, marches against the Afghans, against whom, his troops impressed with superstitious notions at the Sacrileges committed lately in the sack and plunder, misbehave and are totally defeated—The Vizir grievously wounded, is obliged to follow the run-aways—The Afghans after this unexpected victory attempt Belgram and Lucknow, where they are roughly handled by the inhabitants, a race renowned for bravery .. but they plunder and sack Ilah-abd, without however being able to take the Castle of that City—Singular appearance of a brave Fakyr, who daily expose himself, daily attacks the enemy, and seems to be invulnerable—The Vizir undismayed by his defeat, makes a spirited very sarcastical answer to those that thought him undone for ever—Even his Consort thinks of sustaining a siege in her Palace—The Vizir raises another army, plunders Feroh-abad, and beats the Afghans, who submit to their Conquerors.*



A TRANS-



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SECTION I.

THE Lovers of History, and those fond of enquiring into the diversity of events, will remember, doubtless, that in closing the First Volume of the Review of Modern Times, which was finished in the year 1195 of the Hedjrah, by this humblest and most inconsiderable of the sons of men, Gholam-hoffein, son to Hedäiet-aaly-Qhan, grandson to Seyd-aalim-ollah, and great-grandson to Seyd-faiz-ollah, the Tebatebäite of the race of Hassen, (on all whom may the divine mercy and forgiveness extend for ever!) I had carried that history as far down as the twenty-second year of the Forgiven Emperor, Mahomed-shah, answering to the year 1152 of the hedjrah; to which history, I had thought it incumbent upon me to add a full narrative of the affairs of Bengal, being invited thereto by the novelty of the matter, as well as borne away by the number and variety of events that



crowded upon me in that particular part: they remember doubtless, I say, that in closing that Volume, I had promised, that if I lived, I would continue the History of that Emperor as well as that of his successors: I do, therefore, undertake to fulfill that promise of mine, in humble hopes that the bestower of unasked benefits, and the conferrer of unexpected favors, after having assisted me in my former Work, shall vouchsafe to support me in bringing my whole Undertaking to a completion; and that by illumining with some of the rays of his goodness, the dark understanding of this vile instrument, he shall vouchsafe to direct with a faint emanation of his unerring wisdom, the trembling pen, and the defective style of this insufficient individual; so as to keep them unfulfilled by the blemishes of error, and untainted with the vices of partiality: for he is the Omnipotent One, and the worthy Bestower of Favors.

We have already observed, that Nizan-el-mulk, under pretence of a hunting party, but really out of discontent against the court, had marched out of the capital, and had encamped in its neighbourhood, where he was loitering these many days without any apparent purpose; nor was his intention guessed at, but on the seventeenth of Muharrem, in the year 1153 of the hedjrah, when that Viceroy hearing of the resolution that had lately taken place at court, and of Emir-Qhan's departure for Ilah-abad, he returned to the city, and paid his respects to the Emperor. Some months after he received repeated intelligence that his son Nizam-eddöulah-nassyr-Djung, (1) listening to the suggestions of some impudent and thoughtless advisers, acted in an independent manner, and had intirely shaken off all respect for his father's authority. The old general, obliged to bring his son to order, obtained the Emperor's consent for his departure; and as his intended expedition became incompatible with the exercise of his office of Prince of Princes, he first obtained that his eldest son Ghazi-eddin-khan should be invested with that dignity, as Deputy to his father; and on the fourteenth of the first Djemadi,

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(1) This Nassyr-Djung, is the Prince assassinated by his own officers, who were in the confederacy with Monsr. Dupleix, & verner of the French Fortress of Pondicherry.

he set out for the Decan: But as he was perpetually endeavouring to reclaim his rebellious son, and a deal of time was spent in negociations and in sending and receiving messages, nine or ten months had already elapsed before he could arrive in the territory of Aoreng-abad, where he encamped on the western parts of that city; and it was the seventh of the first Djemady, in the year 1154, when the father finding that neither reasoning nor entreaties made any impression upon that unnatural son, gave him battle, and took him prisoner, after a sharp engagement, in which the rebellious son was wounded. But this short civil war in Decan did not interrupt the tranquility of the capital nor of the empire.

Nizam-ul-mulk  
beats his own  
son in battle, &  
takes him pri-  
soner.

AFTER Emir-Qhan's departure for his government, Iffac-Qhan's favour reached to the cupola of heaven: he became the most beloved of the Emperor's favourites; and at the same time the disinterested advice which he had secretly given in behalf of the Vizier Cammer-eddin-Qhan and Nizam-el-Mulk having become public, he was likewise cherished by the two latter, as their best friend. New honours and new emoluments were heaped upon him; and besides the Qhaliffah-office, that is, the controul of all the expediture of the public money, he had the command of a brigade of cavalry, the latter was so much increased, that several thousand horses were to be seen at one time, all marked with a *Kaf*, which was the last letter of his name. He was likewise the lord on whom the Emperor reposed the greatest confidence. But fate did not permit him long to enjoy so high a degree of favour: his eyes swelled at once, and the swelling gaining his nose, he sunk under his distemper, and in five or six days illness, he departed this fragile world; and having answered his Lord's invitation, by the words, *I am ready*, he repaired to the mansions of the divine mercy: It was in the month of Safer of the same year. A few days after his demise, the Qhaliffah-office, which he had left vacant, was conferred on Abdol-Madjid-Qhan a Cashmirian; and he was installed in it with a Qhylaat of six pieces (2). Iffac-Qhan having departed his

life,

(2) The Qhylaat is always composed of rich stuffs; but a Qhylaat-matemi, or of Mourning, is always of muslin dyed black or green, and is put on immediately; but always set aside after one day. There are other tokens of Mourning used in Hindostan, as for instance, dirty cloathes, a disordered turbant, a neglected beard and body.—



life on the second of Safer, his three sons, on the ninth paid their respects to the Emperor, who received them with the greatest kindness and distinction; and each of them was honoured with a Qhylaät of mourning. The eldest of them, Mirza-Mahmed, had his name changed into that of his father's, Iffac-Qhan; and in a little time he got so deeply in the Emperor's good graces, that the Monarch was often heard to say that if Iffac-Qhan had not left Mirza-Mahmed behind, he did not know how he should have been able to go through life. His tenderness for the new Iffac-Qhan rose so high, that it was customary with him to take the latter's son, then a child, within his throne, and, contrary to the established rules, to make him sit over against himself, like an Imperial Prince. He was no less profuse in his kindnesses to the two younger sons of the late Iffac-Qhan, who were Mirza-ally-Qhan, and Mirza-Mahmed-ally.

It was in this same month of Safer, that Badji-räo, the famous Maratta general, departed his life, after feeling for some days a pain in his bowels. By his death, the viceroyalty of Malva, being deemed vacant, the same was conferred on Zehir-ed-döslah-Azim-ollah-Qhan, who had espoused the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan's sister. This nobleman, who was very inconsiderate, having had the imprudence to accept so dangerous an office, was invested in his new Government with a rich Qhylaät: But it availed little; for he had never borne a character for much prudence and great abilities. The fodjdary of Befsöulah was at the same time conferred on Himmet-Dilir-Qhan, who received the investiture of it in a Qhylaät of four pieces, to which was added a Sabre; and he set out for the capital in the month of the first Reby. A month after, a Qhylaät of confirmation for the fodjdari of the Dö-ab, was bestowed on Djani-Qhan, a Toorianian, who had given his

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The body is always carried to its grave within the day, and from that moment victuals cease to be prepared in the house: friends and relations take care for three days to provide for the family. The third day they are all invited to a commemoration, nay they come without invitation, when a prayer is pronounced over some Betel or Paan, and some flowers, the latter of which are sent to the grave, whilst the former is distributed to the invited, for whom victuals have been dressed in the house, part of which go to the poor. The fortieth day this ceremony is repeated, after which the family bathe, purify themselves, and put on clean clothes. This ceremony is also performed the ninth or tenth day. It is called Poo: Paan, and also Maatem-porfi.

daughter

daughter in marriage, to Muäien-el-mulk, son to the Vizir-camer-eddin-Qhan. In the month of the second Djemady, Intyzam-ed-dö8lah, second son of that minister, who on Qhan-döuran's being slain in the battle against Nadyr-shah, had been appointed viceroy of Adjmir, was dismissed to his government: and a few days after, Semfäm-eddö8lah, who bore the same title as his father, Qhan-dö8ran, received an additional grade of a thousand horses; in consequence of which his military rank rose to the command of seven thousand. About the end of the year, and in the night of the twenty seventh of Redjeb, Mir-fahr-eddin-Qhan, one of the sons of the Vezir-camer-eddin-Qhan, married the daughter of the late Muzaffer-Qhan, brother to Qhan-dö8ran; and these Nuptials were celebrated with pomp, as were those of Intizam-eddö8lah, the Vizir's eldest son, with the late Qhandöuran's daughter, on the night of the first day of the Ramazan. A strange event closed these rejoicings: the third of Muharrem, of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty four of the hedjra, happened to be the new year's day. (3)

On the twenty fourth of Shaaban, of the same year, a daughter was born to Mahmed-shah, from Sahabah-mahal (4), daughter to Sofiah-fooltanabegum; which last was sister to Malekah-zemani, daughter to a sister of Sadat-Qhan; this princess had chanced to be seen by Mahmed-shah, who fell in love with her charms, and having married her, brought her to the Mahal-fera, or Seraglio. About this time, Azim-allah-Qhan, having proved by his ill conduct how little able he was to get the province of Malva out of the hands of the Marattahs, was neglected by the Emperor, and fell into contempt; he was an opinionated obstinate man, who gave so many proofs of ill conduct, that even the Vizir himself, his kinsman, whose sister he had married, conceived a disgust against his manners. The man, incensed at these marks of general contempt, resolved to shew his resentment in his turn, and had the imprudence to quit all at once the palace of the late Aaly-merdan-Qhan

(3) This is very remarkable, as the solar festival of the Nö8-rö8z, is a day of rejoicing, and the first ten days of the lunar month of Muharrem, are deemed days of mourning.

(4) *Sahabah-Mahal*, signifies the lady of the seraglio; and *Malekah-Zemani*, signifies the Queen of the age.

where he resided; and to go and encamp without leave at the Char-bagh, a seat belonging to the Vizir, as if to change his ground, exactly like one who intended to set out on an expedition. The Emperor, shocked at his behaviour, vacated his office of Sadr-el-Soodoor, and bestowed it on Sheriat-ollah-Qhan, who had enjoyed it before. At the same time, the command of the Goozer-bans, or door and way-keepers, was conferred on Agher-Qhan, the Turk; as was the Fodjdari of Soharen-poor, on Hafiz-eddin-Qhan. This Agher-Qhan was, with some other commanders, ordered to watch and attend Azim-ollah-Qhan's behaviour and motions, and they kept round his post for some days; when the man, being sensible of the imprudence of his conduct, thought proper to repent, and to return to his house; where, having dismissed his troops, he lived retired. This same year, it being the festival of the sacrifice, a Comet, with a tail of a full yard in length, made its appearance in the sign of *Caper*, inclining to the South. At last it turned to the North, and after having shined for a full month, it disappeared. And on the thirteenth of Moharrem, being the beginning of the year 1155, the Nöurooz, or New Year's Day, was celebrated with the usual ceremonies. There were some more promotions this year: Radj-Mahmood-Qhan, the Cazi of Cazies, that is, the Supreme Judge of the Empire, having departed his life, his office was conferred on Moorad-eddin-Qhan; and this nobleman was installed in that high dignity with a Qhylaat of four pieces. In the month of Redjeb, Sheriat-ollah-Qhan, the Sadr-el-Soodoor, son to Mir Djumlah, that great favorite of Feroh-syur's, departed his life. It was in this year that there happened a conjunction of two Planets, in the end of the sign *Leo*, according to the Astronomical Tables, drawn up under the inspection of the learned Radja Djehi-Sing-Ketchvaha, by the mathematicians Mirza-Qhäir-ollah and Shek Mahmed-Äyed, who comprised their observations in a book, commenced and finished under Mahmed-Shah: But according to Ooloogh-beg's tables (5), this conjunction happened in the beginning of the sign of *Virgo*.

(5) An European would be surprized to hear who this astronomer is: he was not only a Tartar, but also a Prince, Sovereign of Beqhara, in Eurbeg-Tartary, an Historian, a Warrior and a Geographer. As an Astronomer only, he is vastly superior in abilities to Alphonso of Castille; and he had measured a degree of the earth, several centuries before Picard had thought of his line across all France, in Louis the Fourteenth's time.

In that same year, Azim-ollah-Qhan, tired of living private in his house, eloped from it, and for the second time quitted the City, with an intention to go to Lahor. He was that same day pursued by the sons of the Vizier Camer-eddin-Qhan and Haider-Cooly-Qhan, at the head of the Regiment, called of Cabool, and of some other troops; amongst which was the body of two thousand horses belonging to the Artillery. Azim-ollah-Qhan, sensible of his being pursued, made so much haste, that in eight days he arrived at Lahor, where Zekeriah Qhan, who was allyed to him, (the two nobleman having married the two sisters,) received him in his palace, and made him a present of elephants and horses, and of every thing else requisite to appear like a nobleman of his high rank. Mean while, those that pursued him, coming to the gates, the Governor received them with respect, gave them an entertainment, and, after having put to them many questions about their ulterior orders, he delivered his brother-in-law into their hands, and dismissed them, satisfied with the reception they had met with. The two officers having marched without stopping, carried their prisoner to Shah-djehan-abad, where he was, by an Imperial order, confined in the Citadel. In this same year, on the last day of the month of Shawal, there happened, in the sign of *Virgo*, a conjunction of the Planets, of bad omen (6). On the seventeenth of Zilcaadah, the Emperor set out of the City on a hunting party, and encamped in a garden contiguous to the town of Louly; but a few days after he was seized by an Esquinancy and a palpitation of the heart, which was soon followed by a pain in the side, and by a swelling that disturbed the animal excretions, and impeded the admission of liquids as well as solids; he was immediately requested to lose some blood, and to suffer an application of some leeches. But this not affording the desired relief, he returned in a few days to the Citadel, where, after some repose, he found himself better. The Nö8 R8z, or new year's day, fell this year, on the twenty-fourth of Muharrem, of 1156.—On a Tuesday, being the seventh of the first Djemady, of the same year, Saad-eddin-Qhan Mir-atefhy, as

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(6) Jupiter and Mars, or rather Saturn and Mars,—as those of good omen are Jupiter and Venus.

## T H E S E I R

well as steward of the Imperial household, after having made his obeisance to the presence, went home; and, about midnight, he found himself ill of a pain in the bowels, of which he expired before day-break. His son, having, a few days after, made his appearance before the Emperor, received a *Qhyla*at of mourning, with the confirmation of his father's two offices; to which was added a fringed *Paleky*, and an augmentation of his Military grade; so that he was now commander of five-thousand horses, and grand-master of the *Imperial Palace, as well as Steward of the Household*. In this same year an Imperial order, backed by notes in the Emperor's hand, was severally dispatched to Emir-Qhan, Viceroy of Ilah-abad; to Abool Manfoor-Qhan, governor of Aood; to Zekeriah-Qhan, Viceroy of Lahor, and Moltan; to Radja-baht-Sing, Rat-hor; and to Radja Dehiradj-Djehi-Sing; as well as to several other persons of distinction, requesting their immediate attendance at Court. Nizam el Mulk likewise received a similar order; but that Viceroy excused himself upon his great age, and the debility of body inseparable from it. The truth is, that being at the head of six Soobahdaries, or Viceroyalties, he thought himself strong enough to decline going to Court; he had besides resolved on conquering the kingdom of Carnatic, had already besieged and taken the fortrefs of Tir-China-pally (7), and received Arcat at composition. As to Radja Dehi-radj-Djehising-Sevai, he died the seventh of Shaaban, which was about the time of the Hindoo festival of the *Deffara*, when three Ranies or princesses, his consorts, with three of his concubines, and some of his dancing-women, thought proper to follow him into the other world, and burned themselves, together, with his body, on his funeral pile; which in the Indian language is termed to become *Satti* (8). We have said, that several Viceroys had been ordered to court. Abool-manfoor-Qhan, on receiving the imperial command, referred himself for his compliance, to Emir-Qhan, his neighbour, of Ilah-abad, with whom he was closely connected, and to whom he acknowledged himself beholden for his promotion. That keen-sighted nobleman, thinking that the

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(7) Once a great city, and fortrefs in the Carnatic; but now greatly fallen.

(8) This word is an adjective, coming from *Sat*, which signifies *together*.

bringing



bringing a general of that character to court would redound to his own honor and advantage, exhorted him to comply with the Imperial mandate; and, on the other hand, Abool-manfoor Qhan having conceived that his affairs would receive some benefit by making a stay at court, resolved to make the voyage; and he tarried sometime to complete his preparations. Radja Nevol-Ray was ordered to act in his absence as his deputy: this was a man whom he had raised from a common trooper in his service, to the highest dignities at his Court, and whose abilities and zeal were so agreeable to him, that he had lately made him his Pay-master-general. After making his mind easy on that subject, and spending some more time with his several governors and deputies, he fixed a day for his departure, as he had given his word to Emir-Qhan that he would be in the capital, a few days only after him. The latter put his affairs in order, and left for his deputy Syëd-Mahmed-Qhan, an Iranian, renowned for an heroic bravery, which had greatly raised his character, when he commanded at Corrah; after that he set out on his journey; and on the twenty-ninth of Ramazan, he arrived on the strand of the Djumna, over against the venerable Citadel of the Imperial city. There he was met, two days after, by the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, who on that day, which happened to be the festival ending the fast, came out of the city, took him on his own elephant, and carried him to his Palace. On that same evening, Emir-Qhan went to Court, and had the honor to pay his obeisance, and to kiss the columns of the Imperial throne.

As to Abool-manfoor-Qhan, on the day destined for his departure he heard that Sëyd-Hedäiet-aly-Qhan, my father (in whose company I had the honor to be, being then a very young man) was coming to Feiz-abad-Aood; upon which he sent Semi-beg-Qhan, his introducer, to receive him at some distance from the city. My father having embraced Semi-beg-Qhan, came with him to Feiz-abad, where he paid his respects to Abool-manfoor-Qhan; but as that Viceroy was going to mount, and waited only for the favorable moment, the visit was an abridged one; and my illustrious father landed at

Semi-beg-Qhan's house. In about an hour after, Abdol-Rahim-Qhan, astrologer to the Viceroy, having seen the sun in his astrolabe, sent word that this was the favorable moment; and the governor mounting immediately, went and took his Quarters in his Fish-khana, or set of spare tents, that had been pitched for him in a camp at a short distance from the City of Feiz-abad: There he stopped a few days, and then set out for the capital, carrying with him, not only the best part of his troops, but also his whole family. Being arrived at a particular spot upon the Ganga, between Cannodje and Mekenpoor, famous for the monument of Sha-Medar, he stopped four days there, both to pay his respects to that venerable spot, and to throw a bridge over the river, with the boats which he always carried with him over land. The bridge being ready, he first dismissed his deputy, Radja Nevol-räy, and then bestowed the fodyary of Qhair-abad on my father, to which he added this compliment: "You are already fatigued by a long voyage, and I therefore leave you to take some repose; but should you not agree with Raja Nevol-räy, then you shall come to me again at the capital." This attention was flattering; but my father, not pleased with his being put under the orders of a deputy, desired to follow him to court. Being in the territory of Djan-Siter, on the day ending the fast of the Ramazan, that general stopped one day to fulfil the rites of that festival, which consist in marching armed in procession to some distance in the fields, and in assisting at the Qhootbah (10), for which purpose he ordered a number of tents to be pitched at some distance from his camp; after this he marched on, and arrived in the territory of Shah-Djehan-abad. There he was met by his own agent at

(10) The Qhootbah is a prayer pronounced standing by the officiant, but with his face turned to the people. It begins by the profession of faith, by a prayer not to, but for, Mohammed, and his four first successors, and ends by a prayer for the reigning Prince; after which the Priest as well as the whole assembly pronounce the Fatcha in a low voice, and the assembly is then dismissed.

This Fatcha is pronounced by way of appreciation. The officiant has in his hand a staff or a sabre, just as the place in which he now officiates, has been taken by capitulation or by storm. It is customary, on the day of the sacrifice, and whilst he is praying for the reigning Prince, to throw over his shoulders a Qhylaot, or dress of honor, and the same person rolls a rich turban round his head. This commemoration of the Prince, in the Qhootbah, amounts to an oath, or act of allegiance.

court,

court, Radja Latchimi-Naräin, and by Sëyd-Neffär-Mohammed-Qhan, the Shir-Djung, a Lord of the court, who was son to Syädet-Qhan, brother to the late Saadet-Qhan, and of course nearly related to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan: this spot was at three day's journey from the capital; and thither he proceeded in all haste; but being arrived on the bank of the Djumnah, he thought it incumbent upon him to make his appearance with some pomp and magnificence. Leaving, therefore, his baggage behind, he marched on in great order, being then within sight of the Citadel; he had with him about ten thousand men of cavalry, all well mounted, and well armed, the Hindostanies upon horses of value of their own country; the Moguls, of whom his army mostly consisted, upon Persian horses; all stout and vigorous, all armed to advantage, all dressed in scarlet, and cutting an appearance equally pompous and formidable. This body was interspersed with a number of elephants, carrying Ambaris covered with beaten gold; the general was preceded by the elephants richly caparisoned, which carried superb ensigns, and marched slowly, furrounded by his troops. Luckily for him it had rained the whole night, and the morning proved fair and cool, when he made his appearance before the building, called the octagonal tower; which being richly gilt, shone in emulation of the then rising sun: the Emperor was there, although not visible: the general, on approaching the tower, alighted from his elephant, and, according to custom, made a profound bow, and stood a while in a respectful posture; the Monarch answered his bow by sending him one of the roses then before him, with some fruit which was presented by an eunuch of the presence; the Viceroy mounted again and returned to his camp, leaving the Emperor much pleased with the show and the warlike appearance of his troops. All this was yet on the other side of the Djumna. The eleventh of Shevval having been pointed out to the general as the favorable moment, he early crossed the river, on a bridge which the emperor had ordered to be thrown over for him, and encamped on a spot on the other side, where he had pitched his camp; and where the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan had also ordered



ordered a number of tents to be pitched for his own retinue, and a magnificent one for himself; that minister intending to meet the Viceroy and to bring him to court. Sometime after the Vizir made his appearance, and having ordered a number of the Viceroy's people who had filled the tents, to withdraw, and to sit without on their Zin-posh, (11). he filled the largest with his own people, and took his place in it: After tarrying some moments, he came out, with a small number of persons of distinction, and advanced towards a large tent with a very large enclosure that embraced a spacious yard. On the Vizir's making his appearance at the gate of the inclosure, the general, who was only attended by a small number of men of distinction, amongst whom was my father, got up from his meshed, and advanced out to meet him; and the minister being already in the middle of the yard, they embraced each other, as is the custom in India; and took together their seats on one and the same meshed. After half an hour's conversation, paan and several kinds of Aturs (12) were brought in and accepted; and on the Vizir's getting up, he was presented with a number of qhoans or trays (13); some covered with curious and costly stuffs, and some with jewells set and unset; after which he departed; and at that very moment he received another present of Elephants and Horses; and as it had been agreed, that the minister should precede him to court, and that the general should follow close, the Vezir was yet within sight, when the general mounted, and, with a deal of pomp and magnificence, he arrived at the gate of the Imperial palace, where in the evening he had the honor to be presented, and to make his three bows; from thence he repaired

(11) Zin-posh, (Saddle-cover); it is in general of broad-cloth and lined, and so ample as to serve for a carpet to two or three men.

(12) Atur, is in general taken for the essential Oil of Roses, extracted from Rose-water, by the heat of the sun. It is a precious drug, very scarce, and it has sold at Calcutta, for a hundred times its weight in silver. There are other Aturs, but not quite so dear.

(13) Those Tables are about two or three feet in length, and two in breadth; elegantly painted, gilt, and varnished, and also raised in. They are brought covered with rich brocade fringed. The master of the ceremonies, or some other person of consequence, draws each table close to the Lord complimented, and uncovering only part of them, gives him a glimpse of the contents, one table after another.

to Dara-Shecooh's palace, which had been given by the Emperor to the general's uncle and father-in-law, the famous Saadet-Qhan: his army, which was considerable, continued pouring into the city the whole night; and a mighty city it must have been indeed, where several such Princes, as Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, Emir-Qhan, Zekariah-Qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk, could enter with their numerous armies, and as numerous attendants, without occasioning, in the houses and streets, the least appearance of throng or confusion. The citizens, who had business with those princes, were obliged to inquire where they had landed; but the common people knew nothing of either their being come in, or of their being gone out.

My forgiven father, also, having hired the seat of Radja Baht-mul, who had been Divan of the Imperial Qhalissah, went into the city. On the eighteenth of the same month Shah-nevaz-Qhan, son to Zekariah-Qhan, but who was commonly known by the name of Mirza-Pahlory, under which he had acquired some character for bravery and military abilities, was in the evening admitted to the honour of paying his bows to the Emperor. A month after, but in the same year, Abed-ally-Qhan, second son to Mir-Djemlah, was promoted to the office of Supreme Sadr, and honoured with a Qhylaat; and four days after Bend-ally-Qhan, son to Ghäiret-Qhan the Huffleinian, who bore the same title as his maternal grand-father, namely that of Shir-ef-ken (14), having been introduced by Emir-Qhan, with whom he had come to court, was graciously received, and presented with a Qhylaat of five pieces. About this time, it being a cool night, of the thirteenth Shevval, the nuptials of the Imperial Prince Ahmed-Mirza with a lady descended from Mehabet-Qhan, were celebrated with a deal of magnificence: this same year, 1156, being a Friday, the twenty-fourth of Zilcaadah, a comet, with a tail half a yard in length, made its appearance, and shone for two and twenty days together, beginning with the dusk of the evening, and continuing as late as midnight; it

(14) Shir-ef-ken signifies the tearer and overthrower of Lions; and also the tearing Lion, and overthrowing Lion.

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remained

remained motionless betwixt the end of *Pisces* and the beginning of *Aries*. At the end of that time, it seemed to move between the two signs towards the south-west; but then its tail assumed a pike's length, from the fifteenth of the next month of Zilhidja; and the comet itself became of the bigness and brightness of *Vesper*, always increasing in magnitude and brilliancy, and inclining towards the East; when it disappeared on the last day of that same month. On the fourth of that month Sheh-saad-ollah, Divan of the musters, departed his life, as did, the next day, Mehr-Perver, consort to Bahadyr-shah, and grandmother to Mahmed Shah; and they were both, according to their requests, buried close to Choodja-Cootoob-eddin's monument. This same day, the viceroyalty of Gudjrat was conferred on Fahr-eddöslah, brother to Rohen-eddöslah.

THIS was an indifferent choice, but it became necessary; for that Kingdom having, as we have said in the former volumes, been severed from the Imperial jurisdiction, and transferred to the Marhattas, who held it these many years with a strong grasp, no one chose to accept such a charge. But as the new Viceroy bore a character for valour, Mahmed-yar-Qhan, whom we have mentioned to have quitted Abool-Manfoor-Qhan's service, attached himself to him, and engaged him to turn his views towards that dangerous country. The story of that officer is singular enough:—Tired with the laborious life he was obliged to lead in the camp of so active a man as Nadyr-Shah, and fearing likewise his animadversion upon some other subjects, he had fled to Hindostan, where he had remained concealed, during that Monarch's sojourn; after his departure, he attached himself to Saadet-Qhan, his countryman, who knew him for a man of great courage, and carried him to Fëiz-abad, where he soon had an opportunity to signalize his abilities: a report spread at that time at Benares, where that general was with his army, that a great treasure of money was approaching from Bengal, under a double escort of Marhattas, commanded by a Marhatta General; and of Hindostanies, commanded by an officer sent by Zin-eddin-ahmed-Qhan,



Qhan, Viceroy of Azimabad. This convoy was sent by Aly-verdy-Qhan, of Bengal, to Baladji-rão, the Marhatta Generalissimo, and was then on its way to the Marhatta Camp. It was this Treasure which Mahmed-yar-Qhan undertook to carry off. Setting out with about two thousand Mogul Horses, he made so much haste to overtake it, that on his arrival at Saherferam, he found himself with only seventy Horses. With this handful of men, he fell upon the enemy, killed some, threw the whole in disorder, and his troops following apace, he had already beaten the enemy before the whole of his force could arrive: he had killed numbers of them, made some prisoners, dispersed the rest, and seized the treasure, with which he returned to Benares (15). A service of that importance, instead of promoting his interest, ruined him in Saadet-Qhan's mind: the Viceroy took umbrage at so much daringness, and a coolness took place between them; for the Officer, having parted from him in disgust, had now taken service with Fahr-ed-döslah. The man, full of resentment, expected to be able to debauch the Mogul troops in Abool-manfoor-Qhan's service, and to bring into his possession, by some means or other, his artillery also; after which, he doubted not, but under Fahr-ed-döslah's name, he would drive the Marhattas from Gudjrat. Full of this scheme, he fell to work, and intrigued with the Moguls; but those people, who had fled from the laborious life they had led in Nadyr-Shah's Camp, and now enjoyed some rest in Abool-manfoor-Qhan's service, did not choose to listen to a man whom they knew to be of a cholerick restless temper, that would engage in endless expeditions, and allow them not a moment of rest; and they refused his offers flatly, and none staid with

(15) Mahmed-yar-Qhan being sent for on the first intelligence of the treasure being on the road, that officer without waiting for the Viceroy's speaking, broke out: *I will do it,—I am precisely*, said he, *the man you want for such an enterprise.* For what enterprise? replied the Viceroy,—*for falling, like lightning, upon those Coraers that are marching at our elbows: Will you suffer those infidels to march off with so much money?* Since you have guessed, said the Viceroy, *for what I had sent for you, depart immediately, and set out to-morrow.* To night, replied the man, *and if I come at all, it will be with the money.* The Marhatta Escort of four-thousand men was already defeated and flying, before he had been joined by one-third of his two thousand Moguls, and he attacked it with only seventy men. It is remarkable that he measured eighty or ninety Coles of ground from Feiz-abad to Saherferam, in thirty or forty hour's time.

him

him but some hundreds of men who had been his companions, who having personal obligations to him, went over to his camp: and it was with these few men he undertook to carry Fahr-eddöslah to Gudjrat; he departed, accordingly; but his numbers were so small, that all his efforts proved abortive; nor did he gain Fahr-eddöslah's heart, who was a man of courage, but of little understanding; the man, not pleased, retired to live in a corner; but being sick of a still life that did not agree with his temper, he returned to Nadyr-Shah's camp; and although he had every thing to fear from that Monarch's resentment, he presented himself before him with an undaunted countenance; that Prince, on casting his eyes upon him, recollected him at once, and said, "Since you fled from my resentment, why have you come back?"—"because," answered the man, "rather than to live amongst cowards, it is better to be killed by a brave man, like you: and now I bring you my head." Nadyr-Shah, pleased with his answer, gave him his pardon, and sent him upon a command in Pars (16), or in Herat. After Mahmed-yar-Qhan's departure, Fahr-eddöslah was beaten by the Marhattas, and became their Prisoner; nor was it until after a deal of trouble and many sufferings, that he found his way again to Shah-djehan-abad, where he retired to his house.

At the end of this year, on the seventh of Zilhidja, there fell such violent rains, and these were mixed with so much hail, and so much lightning and thunder, that people were confounded and amazed; the lightning fell in the citadel, did a deal of damage in the public audience hall, killed two horses and two men, and stunned several others. On the 25th of the same month the Emperor was pleased to honour Sheh-saad-ollah's son, with a Qhilaat of mourning; and as, by that death the office of Divan of the musters became vacant, the Monarch bestowed it on Abdol-medjid-Qhan, the Cashmerian, who on that very day took possession of his office, by sitting in the cacherry or tribunal, and

(16) Pars, is the Persis of the Greeks; it is one of the six grand divisions, into which the Persians or Iranians parcel out their country.

signing some papers. This year, being the one thousand one hundred and fifty seventh of the Hedjrah, the nou-rooz, or new-year's day, fell on the sixth of Sefer (16): this year also Nizam-el-Mulk having besieged the fortresses of Paleconda in the territory of Häiderabad, recovered that strong hold from the hands of Mucarbe-Qhan the Decanian. A great change happened this same year at court: as the Emperor was dissatisfied with the Toorian Lords, at the head of whom were the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, and Nizam-el-mulk; and Saad-eddin-Qhan, as well as his son, Hafiz-eddin-Qhan, were known to be attached to them; the latter was dismissed from the command of the Imperial Artillery, an office of the utmost importance, and which gives a disposal of the Emperor's person and family; and at the same time the office of Mirateshy, or grand-master of the household, was, on Emir-Qhan's recommendation, bestowed on Abool-manfoor-Qhan; the Emperor at the same time passing a compliment upon the many services he had rendered the state, and expressing his hopes of his continuing to be equally vigilant and faithful. On this promotion Abool-manfoor-Qhan ordered the insignia of his office, such as the axes and other articles to be brought into his presence; and having issued some orders relative to his charge, he took from that day his residence in the Citadel; the next day he obtained, for my forgiven father, the Fodjdary of Sekendera, at a small distance from the capital, and he introduced him to the Emperor. On my father's paying his obeisance, he was honored with a Qhylaot which he put on immediately; and it was at the same time that myself, the poor man, was, with my younger brother, Naky-aly-Qhan, honored with military grades and the title of Qhan. We both remained some months at Court, in our father's service, after which we applied to Abool Manfoor-Qhan for leave to return to Azim-abad, a city where our family was established these many years; and where I had my glorious mother, my aunt, my uncle, and my brothers; a city where we had

(17) The solar year, amongst the Mussulmen begins on the 22d or third of March; but the beginning of their Lunar year wanders throughout all the seasons.

contracted connections and friendship, both with Zin-eddin-Ashmed-Qhan, Viceroy of the province, and with his uncle, Aly-verdy-Qhan. That general not only obtained our demand, but he dismissed us with every mark of honor and kindness, decorating both brothers with a Qhylaat and a Serpitch, and sending by our means his prayers to the Nazem of Azimabad (18), and some curious presents to the Viceroy of Bengal. We arrived at Azimabad the first of Zilcaadah of that same year with all our retinue without meeting any accident by the way. At the end of this same year Aya-mull, prime minister of the late Maharadja (19) Asiri-sing-Seväi, having had the honor to be presented to the Emperor, received a Qhylaat of five-pieces; and on the fifteenth of the same month of the second Djemady, the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, who had been out of the city, and had got into a tent for the purpose of condoling with that prince on his father the late Maharadja's death, and also for bringing him with more honor to court, paid him a short visit; and on the evening of that same day, he received a respectful one from the Gentoo Prince. On the month of Redjeb of that same year, Homäi8n-Baqht, brother to the late Emperor Fero8-Syur, and son to Azim-ush-Shan, departed his life, and he was buried close to Qhoodjah-Cootoob-Eddin's monument. On the twenty-seventh of Shaaban the Fodjdary of G8aliar was taken from Qhyzyr-Qhan, and bestowed on Emir-Qhan; as was the Government of Cashmir, on Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, after it was taken from Affed-yar-Qhan, a simple man, on whom it had been bestowed by Emir-Qhan's recommendation. This Governor now lost his appointment on some bad offices which were rendered him by the same Emir-Qhan, and he was denied access to the Emperor's presence: at the same time both Emir-Qhan and Abool-Manfoor-Qhan were honoured by the Emperor

(18) The Nazem of Azimabad, although himself a governor of an important Province, being so very inferior to Abool-Manfoor Qhan, the latter sent him only his *Dua*, or prayers, it is the usual expression; *Salam*, is above it, as it signifies both *greeting*, and a *brow*: *Bendegbi*, signifies attachment and respect, and is the highest expression.

(19) This word of Maharadja, which signifies great king, in the ancient Hindoo language, signifies now only a great Prince; and it is a title of honor which the Emperor used to bestow as a favor on the principal Hindoos of his empire, but which is bestowed now even by his Viceroys.

with



with each a rich belt. The latter, who was attached by his office to the Emperor's person, sent Neffar-Mahmed-Qhan, a relation of his, to take possession of that Government; and he gave him a strong body of both Hindostany and Mogul troops, with instructions to bring the refractory people of that country under some order. This nobleman being arrived in his Government, found means, by dint of promises and by a faint agreement, to engage one Baber-ollah, a man of consequence in that country, but equally powerful and refractory, to come to see him; but as soon as he had him in his power, he got him seized and confined: the new Governor after this manœuvre, spent some time in enjoying the pleasures afforded by that terrestrial Paradise, and then returned to Shah-Djehan-abad, after having placed, as Deputy-governor, a relation of Abcool-Manfoor-Qhan's, called Efrasiab-Qhan. On the seventeenth of the Ramazan of that same year, Azim-ollah-Qhan, who had been this long while kept confined in the Citadel of Shah-Djehan-abad, was released from his confinement by death; and he went to join his relations and those that resembled him in character; the next morning, his body having been brought to his house in the city, where the Vizir Cammer-eddin-Qhan, who was his near relation, had repaired, according to custom; the throng that accompanied that minister proved so very great, that the floor of the house, which happened to have a Tah-Qhana (20), and possibly was that moment under some secret influence, gave way, and the body, the Vizir, and all his people fell into the apartment underneath, but however without receiving any great hurt; the Vizir having escaped that danger, ordered the body to be buried close to the monument of Shah-Nizam-eddin. At the end of this same year about the last day of Zilcaadah, there happened to be an

(20) Tah-Qhana signifies *house of heat*: it is a subterraneous apartment always under the Ground-floor, and so contrived as to admit little light, and of course little heat. People resort to those places from noon, as far as the evening in the months of March, April, and May, at which time there blows a wind that seems to come out of an Oven. Some people have jets d'Eaux in those apartments, but all are besprinkled with water; there are no Tah-Qhana's in Bengal, (excepted at Patna), the country being too humid and too much infested with Snakes. The Author's superstition makes him mention the words of secret influence, as if the deceased had become the object of the divine malediction, for having by the Vizir's order attacked and slain Seif-Qhan; a Seld.

unuspicious



unauspicious conjunction in the sign of *Libra*; it made its appearance again in the month of *Sefer* of the year 1158, and having appeared for the third time in *Virgo*, about the end of the second of *Reby*, it disappeared entirely. The last month of this same year, Sooltan-Eaz-ed-din, son to Muëzz-eddin-Djehandar-Shah, departed his life.

AFTER having detained the reader's attention with these unimportant events, it is time to introduce to him a man who has founded a sovereignty very near the capital of the Empire; this man is Ali-Mahmed-Qhan-Rohilah. We have already mentioned several times in the former volumes the name of that extraordinary man, especially as having been so instrumental in Seif-O's ruin and death: this man, originally a son of a Gentoo Ahir (21), and adopted by an Afghan of no higher pedigree than himself, had a fund of bravery and capacity, which rendered him worthy of command: he availed himself of the neglect and supineness so conspicuous in the Vizir Cammer-eddin-Qhan's character, to carry his point, and to establish his power firmly in his new dominions on the other side of the Ganga, which he peopled with a multitude of Afghans that flocked to him from all parts, and henceforward took his name. The means by which he raised himself to the pinnacle of fortune, are so extraordinary and so sudden, that it becomes necessary to give here a succinct account of them. He was at first a commander of a small body of Afghan cavalry, with which, having taken service with the two Governors of the province of Moordabad, he behaved on all occasions so well, and rendered so many services, that he became a favorite with them both, and acquired a character highly esteemed all over the country. This country, which was the Djaghîr of the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, had been for a length of time governed by two Noblemen much in favor with that minister, namely Of-

Origin and  
History of Rohi-  
lah, the founder  
of a colony of  
Afghans.

(21) The Ahirs of Hindostan, called Goalas in Bengal, are a particular class that abstains from animal food, and have for occupation every thing that may be done in a dairy, (cheese excepted): they are also Shepherds, but only of cows, bulls, and buffaloes, but never of sheep, goats, or any other animal whatever. Nevertheless they neither make nor eat any Cheese; and by a Bizarery hardly to be believed, those men which put salt into milk-cards, turned sour, hold it a sin to put any into sweet milk.

met-ollah-Qhan, and Ferid-eddin-Qhan, who took a particular liking to Aaly-Mahmed-Rohilah: The latter had already acquired a high character for prowess and military conduct, by assisting so timely Azim-ollah-Qhan, in his engagement against Seif-Qhan; and as Azim-ollah-Qhan was so nearly related to the Vizir, that officer, by his means, became known to that Minister, who got him decorated with a title, <sup>prom'd</sup> with a military grade: he procured him likewise the grant of some <sup>consec</sup> from the Emperor; and gave him from himself the command over <sup>son</sup> to <sup>see</sup> of his Djaghir of Moorad-abad. The man no sooner saw himself in <sup>d co</sup> force and power, than availing himself of the Vizir's inattention, and <sup>enjoy</sup> the effeminacy of the neighbouring Djaghir-holders, he found means to <sup>seiz</sup> their lands, by way of taking a lease of them; and mean while Death <sup>snatched</sup> Ofinet-ollah-Qhan and Ferid-eddin-Qhan, those two brave governors, who had done so much honor to their age, Aaly-Mahmed-Qhan, who now passed for an Afghan to all intents and purposes, availed himself of that opportunity to engage in his service a number of Afghan officers and commanders, who resolved to share his good fortune: those men whom the severities of Nader-Shah had driven from their homes, and who were floating at random upon the Ocean of incertitude and despair, were glad to hear of a place of refuge and shelter, and they resorted in shoals to a man who had already acquired so much renown under the name of Rohilah, which was that of one of their clans. The man no sooner saw himself so strongly supported than he cast a piercing eye upon the state of things in Hindostan: The weakness of the Empire; the effeminacy of its generals and grandees, who all aspired to independence; and the inattention of the first minister, who, wholly engrossed by his pleasures as well as by court intrigues, spent his time in intemperance and in the company of the handsomest youths he could procure from all parts of the Empire: all these vices of administration could not escape the sight of so keen a man: he availed himself of so many favorable circumstances to build his own grandeur; and after having remained a long time crouching, he raised his head at once, and setting up

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for himself, he became refractory, and neglected sending the usual remittances to the treasury. The Vizir, roused from his lethargy by so bold a step, sent for Radja-Harn<sup>about</sup> a Roudja by clan, and having furnished him from his own stores with<sup>more</sup> sum of money, a train of artillery, and a quantity of rockets, he gave him the government of Moorad-abad, and the neighbouring countries, with orders to raise as many troops as he might think necessary, for subduing Rohilah, and with him all the refractory Zemindars of those parts. The Radja, having raised an army, marched with his troops and artillery to Moorad-abad; and, proud of his power and forces, he commenced issuing orders, and exacting submission. Rohilah, like a shrewd politician, kept an attentive eye upon him; and mean while he was sending respectful messages, by which he excused the imprudence of his conduct, and requested for the future some abatement in the high rents which had been heretofore expected from him. The Radja, elated with his dignity and the Vizir's support, would not hear of any abatement; he required an unconditional submission, and was intent only on picking up some quarrel with him, and tearing him by the roots. The man, seeing himself thus pressed hard, turned his eyes towards his Afghans, and having assembled the principal men amongst them, he made an exposition of the state of things, and asked them, what was their opinion, and what they intended to do? The Afghans, a race naturally brave and determined, who breathed nothing but conquests and new establishments, seeing the Radja bent on their destruction, advised Rohilah to stand upon his defence, and requested him to reckon upon their hearty assistance, and support. The man, satisfied to see them so resolute and unanimous, assembled them secretly in several bodies, and on an appointed day, he joined them himself, and effected a general junction; after which he marched against Hernund. The latter sensible now, that matters had grown serious, was already in readiness, and he advanced with intention to fight; nor were the two armies at a great distance; when the Hindoos, who not only are careful observers of the meteors and phenomena of the air, as

Rohilah re-  
vails.

well

well as of the motions of celestial bodies, but who trust so far to the conclusions they draw from them, as to think that they concern their happiness in this world as well as <sup>ing</sup> the other; the Bahmins, I say, who abounded in the Radja's army <sup>Az.</sup> where they bore a sway, opposed themselves to his moving farther <sup>near</sup>, and requested his waiting for the favourable moment; this request engaged him to raise an intrenchment round his encampment, which he lined with his artillery, in expectation that with soothing messages, and protracted negotiations, he would keep the Afghans at bay, until the favourable day should come. Rohilla fully informed of all this, as the two armies were so near, suffered himself to be apparently amused; and having spread a report that in the evening, he would pay his respects to the Radja, he fell that very night upon his camp, and threw every thing in confusion. It is observable that intelligence being brought the Radja that the Afghans were approaching in an hostile manner, the man who was then consulting his idols, answered, that this was not a fighting day for them, and went on with his devotions; mean while the Afghans entered the intrenchment, and commenced killing and sacking and plundering every thing in their way. In this confusion Motiram, a Hindoo commander, mounted his horse with a few of his men, and opposed the enemy; but he was cut down with his followers, and he hastened with them into the regions of eternity. Hernund, all this while was still in his oratory, and occupied at his devotions with which he went on; and without attempting to get up, or to interrupt his prayers, he suffered himself to be cut down by the astonished Afghans. Rohilah, having in this manner dispersed all that multitude in a little time, found his power established by a victory equally great and easy, and his force recruited by the addition of a treasure in money, and a great train of Artillery. But the minister was not roused by such an important stroke: like a man lost to all sense of honour, he was not ashamed to commence a negotiation with the rebels; and he chose for that

Surprizes Hernund in his camp.

for himself, he became refractory, and neglected sending the usual remittances to the treasury. The Vizir, roused from his lethargy by so bold a step, sent for Radja-Harn<sup>about</sup> a Roudja by clan, and having furnished him from his own stores with<sup>more</sup> sum of money, a train of artillery, and a quantity of rockets, he <sup>sent</sup> him the government of Moorad-abad, and the neighbouring countries, with orders to raise as many troops as he might think necessary, for subduing Rohilah, and with him all the refractory Zemindars of those parts. The Radja, having raised an army, marched with his troops and artillery to Moorad-abad; and, proud of his power and forces, he commenced issuing orders, and exacting submission. Rohilah, like a shrewd politician, kept an attentive eye upon him; and mean while he was sending respectful messages, by which he excused the imprudence of his conduct, and requested for the future some abatement in the high rents which had been heretofore expected from him. The Radja, elated with his dignity and the Vizir's support, would not hear of any abatement; he required an unconditional submission, and was intent only on picking up some quarrel with him, and tearing him by the roots. The man, seeing himself thus pressed hard, turned his eyes towards his Afghans, and having assembled the principal men amongst them, he made an exposition of the state of things, and asked them, what was their opinion, and what they intended to do? The Afghans, a race naturally brave and determined, who breathed nothing but conquests and new establishments, seeing the Radja bent on their destruction, advised Rohilah to stand upon his defence, and requested him to reckon upon their hearty assistance, and support. The man, satisfied to see them so resolute and unanimous, assembled them secretly in several bodies, and on an appointed day, he joined them himself, and effected a general junction; after which he marched against Hernund. The latter sensible now, that matters had grown serious, was already in readiness, and he advanced with intention to fight; nor were the two armies at a great distance; when the Hindoos, who not only are careful observers of the meteores and phœnomena of the air, as

Rohilah re-  
plies.

well



well as of the motions of celestial bodies, but who trust so far to the conclusions they draw from them, as to think that they concern their happiness in this world as well as in the other; the Bahmins, I say, who abounded in the Radja's army, where they bore a sway, opposed themselves to his moving farther, and requested his waiting for the favourable moment; this request engaged him to raise an intrenchment round his encampment, which he lined with his artillery, in expectation that with soothing messages, and protracted negotiations, he would keep the Afghans at bay, until the favourable day should come. Rohilla fully informed of all this, as the two armies were so near, suffered himself to be apparently amused; and having spread a report that in the evening, he would pay his respects to the Radja, he fell that very night upon his camp, and threw every thing in confusion. It is observable that intelligence being brought the Radja that the Afghans were approaching in an hostile manner, the man who was then consulting his idols, answered, that this was not a fighting day for them, and went on with his devotions; mean while the Afghans entered the intrenchment, and commenced killing and sacking and plundering every thing in their way. In this confusion Motiram, a Hindoo commander, mounted his horse with a few of his men, and opposed the enemy; but he was cut down with his followers, and he hastened with them into the regions of eternity. Hernund, all this while was still in his oratory, and occupied at his devotions with which he went on; and without attempting to get up, or to interrupt his prayers, he suffered himself to be cut down by the astonished Afghans. Rohilah, having in this manner dispersed all that multitude in a little time, found his power established by a victory equally great and easy, and his force recruited by the addition of a treasure in money, and a great train of Artillery. But the minister was not roused by such an important stroke: like a man lost to all sense of honour, he was not ashamed to commence a negotiation with the rebels; and he chose for that

Surprizes Hernund in his camp.

that purpose his favourite wife Sholah-poori (21), and his youngest son, Muaien-eddöulah, better known under the name of Mir-mannoo. Aaly-mahmed-Qhan, hearing of her errand, and knowing that she was already crossing the Ganga in her boat, got himself into some boats that were at hand, and with a few friends only he crossed over, and paid the Begum and her son his respects and duty: after the first compliments, the dispute about rents and tribute was between them dispatched in a few moments. It is even said, that they concluded a match between the young Lord, and Rohilah's daughter, but we have never heard since that day, that the ceremony of marriage had been performed between the young people. Be it as it will, from that period Aly-mahmed-Qhan rose to figure amongst the Princes of Hindostan; and having in a little time assembled an army of forty-thousand determined Afghans, he stretched his dominion from near to near, and established his authority in Mooradabad, Berheily, Anöulah, Bedäon, Bun-gar, Sambal, and Amröah, as well as in some other places: henceforward he became so proud, as to make no account of the Court; and matters remained in that state until the time when Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, becoming grand-master of the Emperor's house-hold, incensed that Monarch against the insolence of Rohilah, and engaged him to exert the Imperial power in chastising and crushing the Afghans.

Rohilah becomes an independent Prince.

THE Emperor, sensible of the goodness of the advice, and that it arose from zeal for his honor, resolved to march against the Rebels; and on the twenty-fourth of Muharrem, he at day-break displayed the standard of departure, and went in the suburbs to the seat of Lö8ni, as if to change his ground. After a stay of twenty days he proceeded farther, and crossed the river Henidun, from whence he encamped at Dasna. From thence he dispatched Sadat-Qhan, maternal uncle to the Empress Maleka-Zemani, with a commission that gave him the Vice-royalty of the province of Dehli, as well as the command of both

(21) The title of Poori, attached to her name, renders it evident that she must have been originally a dance-woman, and an actress.

the capital and it's citadel. The Emperor at the same time made him a present of a fabre, and invested him in that new charge, by dressing him in a suit of new clothes, which had just served his Imperial person (22). The Qhan, having taken his leave, entered the city on the 23d of Sefer, and the next day he took possession of the citadel, whilst the Emperor, who continued his march, arrived at Sumbul on the first of the Reby; and on the twentieth, he encamped at Bedäon. this march struck Aaly-Mahmed-Qhan with disinay, who not thinking himself a match for an Imperial army, quitted the field and took shelter in the fortrefs of Bun-gur, which was immediately besieged; and whilst the troops waited only for the order to mount the breach, this Imperial army was reinforced by a body of troops, brought by Käim-Qhan, son and successor to Mahmed-Qhan Bangash, who having set out from Feroh-abad, his capital, was arrived in the Imperial camp, where he had the honor to pay his obeisance by the Vizir's mediation.— About the same time. Nevol-Räy, deputy to Abool-manfoor-Qhan in Aood, set out likewise for camp by his master's order, with a body of Veterans and a train of artillery. As this body of troops was yet on it's march on the other side of Bungur, which fortrefs remained betwixt them and the Imperial camp, it was feared lest the Afghan should avail himself of that opportunity to fall suddenly upon the reinforcement, and thereby to give a mortal blow to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, whom he considered as his personal enemy: and as on the other hand there subsisted a misunderstanding between Rohilah on one side and the Vizir on the other, which latter had taken umbrage at Abool-Manfoor Qhan's power, and would have been glad to see him undergo, both a loss and an affront; the Viceroy to parry such a disgrace, took the Emperor's leave, and having put himself at the head of his own troops, he marched out to meet his deputy, who was now drawing near; the

The Emperor  
marches against  
him.

(22) This is a very uncommon honor; it's importance may be guessed from this, that when two persons intend to be henceforward sworn brothers to each other, they actually exchange the turbans upon their heads.



junction being effected, that general returned with a deal of honor, and having marched throughout the whole length of the Vizir's encampment, he returned to his own former post. The next day he presented Nevöl-Räy to the Emperor, and for his own honor engaged that Monarch to make him several presents. The Vizir mean while shocked at these distinctions, and intent on lessening the influence of both Emir-Qhan and of the Viceroy, was under hand encouraging Rohilah, to stand his ground, although he ought to have remembered that he was the very man from whom he had received so many affronts. This connection of interests could not long remain concealed from the two Lords, who finding the Vizir intent on assuming the honor of an accomodation, left the negociation intirely to him: and thus, on the third of the first Djemady, of the year 1158, the Vizir, who had undertaken to make Rohilah's peace, bound both his hands with a handkerchief, and in that condition, brought him to the Emperor. The monarch on casting his eyes upon him, ordered his hands to be set at liberty, and turning to the Vizir, he said, "*We recommend this man to your guard.*" People were dispatched at the same time to take possession of the effects in the fortress, where they found a great quantity of grain and some small cannon, but no ready money, and nothing precious: only a small sum, which Rohilah had deposited in the hands of Käim-Qhan, was declared by the latter, and sent to the Treasury. This affair being brought to an end, the Emperor's Pish-Qhana was on the fourth of that month, sent towards Shah-Djehan-abad; and himself, after dismissing Käim-Qhan and Nevöl-Räy to their respective offices, returned victorious and satisfied; it was on the first of Djemady in the same year, at which time, the sun being then at the end of the sign of *Leo*, the Emperor made his entry in the citadal of his capital, and took his seat in the Imperial Palace.

Rohilah besieged, surrenders.

The Emperor returns.

At the end of Muharrem Nevazish-Aaly-Qhan departed his life, and was entombed in the monument of the holy step (23): a month after Esh-

refi-

(23) There are in India numbers of monuments dedicated to the Holy-step, they being raised by pious persons at the very spot where they have seen the Prophet in their sleep, and where he has been pleased to leave

refi-Qhan, eldest son of the late Khandouran, Lord of Lords, departed his life likewise, and was buried in his father's mausolæum. On the seventeenth of Sefer the new year's day was celebrated with the usual solemnities: and about the middle of the first Reby, Affed-yar-Qhan, the famous Poet, who bore the title of Affed-ed-döslah, departed this life; and his body was carried to Acbar-abad, the place of his nativity and residence, as well as that of his ancestors. He was a man equally sensible and good natured, of an equal temper, acquainted with the sciences, and inclined to utter extempore verses: he had been presented by Emir-Qhan to the Emperor in one and the same day with Djaaser-aaly-Qhan, (another famous nobleman of similar temper and talents and a great friend of my father's) and with Issac-Qhan; (since Mutemen-eddöslah,) as well as a fourth person whose name I do not recollect at present. The two former were that same day promoted to the grade of five thousand horses; and the two latter, to that of four thousand. Djaaser-aly-Qhan, having personally attached himself to Emir-Qhan, did not rise higher; but Issac-Qhan's fortune was so rapid, that he rose to the third Heaven; and no favour ever equalled that which he enjoyed, as we have already mentioned. Affed-yar-Qhan rose very high likewise; he was honoured with the title of Affed-eddöslah and the grade of six thousand horses, and he enjoyed the command of five thousand effective troopers in his brigade; moreover he was decorated with the insignia of the Mahi, or fish: Emir-Qhan who had taken umbrage at his behaviour on ac-

Death and  
some account of  
the famous Lord  
and Poet, Affed-  
Yar-Qhan.

leave an impression of his foot. As man is naturally an imitator, where he is not persecuted, we have seen whole sets of Gentoo Dance-women, who having found relief on invoking the Holy Step, went in procession to that monument, and danced for a whole day before it; nor will those women, tho' free to all at other times, suffer themselves to be touched by profanes on such days, or even to be gazed at; they disappear immediately to come again when the croud is past: however there are other Cadem-Resfools, who have a different origin, namely, an imitation in marble or other materials of the impression which the Prophet left of his foot in a very hard stone, now in the temple of Medina; which impression might have been really left of that Holy-foot upon some soft clay, as he was standing upon it when intent upon some building of his at Medina. It is true it has not one of the spiral lineaments which the soft clay must have received in that case; but it is no less true that the Pilgrims, by endless kissing it and passing the palms of their hands upon it and then upon their faces for a course of time no less than twelve centuries, may have effaced the delineaments, and a great deal more; just as they have by the same practice bored a hole at the top of the Granite cavern of Herra, of three inches deep.

COUNT

count of his not having attached himself personally to him, as Djaafer-al-Qhan, and many others had done, was bent on ruining his credit; and finding at his return from Ilah-abad, that he had recovered his former ascendant over the Emperor's mind, he rendered him so many ill offices, that his brigade of five thousand effective horses, was disbanded: an action that reflected a great odium upon Emir-Qhan's person. It is reported of Affed-yar-Qhan, that he kept no less than one hundred and forty chopdars, or mace bearers, divided in two companies, under two distinct officers, that did duty alternately at his gate, for the sole purpose of keeping it free from the noise and tumult so customary at the gates of men of distinction, and of men of no distinction; which however they could not compass: and he used to say that it was with a view to afford a livelihood to these people, and to avoid the imputation of fordidness. He was so good natured that on being visited by people of rank, greatly inferior to his own, he used to receive and treat them as his friends and equals. May God assign him a place in the mansions of his mercy! A few days after his death, intelligence came that Zekeriah-Qhan, Viceroy of Lahor and Mooltan, had departed this borrowed world, and had taken his journey towards eternity: a piece of intelligence which the Vizir, who was brother to the deceased's consort, kept secret, until he could dispatch Yahia-Qhan, the deceased's eldest son, who was also his son-in-law, to put in order his father's household and effects at Lahor; and also to sit in his stead. That minister on hearing that he was arrived, published Zekeriah-Qhan's death, and took mourning for him. The customary days of that rite being over, he went to court, and on that very day obtained a Qhylaaf of departure for Gholam-Mahieddin-Qhan, whom he invested with the commission of going to Lahor, and taking possession for the Imperial treasury of all the deceased's effects. A few days after the Vizir himself, being installed in the charge of Viceroy of Lahor and Mooltan, appointed Zekeriah-Qhan's two sons, to act in those two offices as his deputies; but the two brothers disagreeing together, and their disagreement ending in an open rupture;

Shah-

Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, the youngest brother, seized and confined Yahia-Qhan, his elder. However, the latter having found means, by his mother's contrivance, to get himself conveyed in a Qhoan (24), out of the house, quite thro' his guards, reached the City-gate, where, mounting an excellent horse, kept ready for him, he set out on a gallop, and was soon out of sight and out of his brother's reach. In a short time he arrived at Shah-Djehan-abad, where he had the means to put on brick-coloured cloathes, to cover his head with ashes, and, in a word, to turn Fakir: he built himself a tenement upon the canal, which he called Pim-bari; and as he was a Vizir's son-in-law, and was worth a great deal of money, he soon found followers and disciples, who imitated his garb, and lived in the same manner with him. After his departure, the younger brother remained in full possession of those two governments. Sometime after, that is on the sixteenth of Shaaban, Ased-Ollah-Qhan, elder brother to Emir Qhan, winged his flight towards the mansions of the divine mercy; and on the ninth of Shevval, a son was born to Ahmed Mirza, the presumptive heir of the Empire.

THE No8-r8z fell this year on the twenty-seventh of Sefer; a few days after arrived at Court, Ghoolam-Mahi-eddin-Qhan, who had been dispatched to confiscate the estate of the late Zekeriah-Qhan, in compliance with an infamous custom which has taken place in the Babrian branch of the family of Temoor (26). The deceased Viceroy's son put in his hands some of the most apparent effects, with a sum of

Infamous custom of the Emperor of Hindostan.

(24) Qhoans are tables of three feet in length, and two in breadth, railed in and covered with a Cupola of lattice-work, over which they throw a piece of broad cloth that shelters the whole. It is in these Qhoans that victuals are carried from the kitchen to the table, and also abroad, it being customary in Hindostan to send dressed victuals to friends and acquaintances. It is also in such machines that young imprudent men find means to get themselves conveyed into Seraglios, where they are immediately taken possession of by a number of young women, who have clubbed together for such operations, and who, after having thoroughly squeezed the orange in a few days, are for their own sakes obliged to throw the rind into a well; or it is thrown by the master of the house himself, who chuses that expedient to save his honor, whenever he comes to discover what has passed.

(26) Temoor, or more properly Timur, pronounced Tamer-lang or Tamer-lan, in Europe, had several sons; his posterity in the person of Soltan Babr returned to Hindostan and firmly settled itself there.



money, as the whole of the estate; nor was any thing more brought to the presence; nevertheless the commissary was rewarded for this expedition with a fringed paleky, and an augmentation of a thousand horses to his grade. A strange affair happened about this time:

BEHROZ-QHAN, one of the eunuchs of the presence, after performing his Friday devotions in the mosque, repaired to the house of a slave of his, who had been many days dead, with intention to carry away the deceased's wife, in order to make a present of her person to his own faint and director, who had chanced to see her and to fall in love with her charms. The widow refused, and declared that she had no inclination to marry a second time. This declaration having produced many intreaties, and much altercation, the pimping eunuch, who was resolved to gratify that infamous director of his at any rate, attempted to carry the woman away by force; at this moment her father made his appearance, and interposed, by intreaties and persuasions; but the Eunuch, proud of this station, and presuming on his power and influence, commenced talking so high, that the father, unable to bear his insolence and ill-language, and thinking likewise that his honor was concerned in protecting his daughter from so vile an attempt, struck the invader with his poniard and laid him sprawling on the ground; he struck likewise the eunuch's adopted son, who had followed his father within the inner apartments; but he was himself instantly dispatched by the attendants of that infamous wretch. The eunuch, being stretched at full length in his paleky, was carried to his lodgings, where in a little time he expired. He was buried in the dormitory of Qhoadja-Cootoob-Eddin:

“ I should be glad to know whither those travellers intend to go?”

“ Who have for a guide a man, that has himself lost his way, and is going astray.”

This strange accident was followed by one full as strange: Hafyz-Vadjich-Qhan, an Eunuch, superintendant of the Imperial Kitchen, being at his prayers at day-break, fell suddenly into a swoon, and expired within an hour; it was in the second of Djemady; his office was given to his adopted

adopted son. At the end of the month, the Emperor having set out to take an airing in the seats about the Capital, was pleased to entrust Mahmed Issack-Qhan with the guard of the Imperial person, an office become vacant by Behroz-Qhan's death; and that nobleman after making his bow in acknowledgement of the favor, was installed in his office by being presented with a belt; after which the Emperor on the fifth of Redjeb, returned to his blessed mansion, where an important event soon came to take place.

We have already mentioned more than once the high degree of favor and authority to which Umdet-ul-Mulk-Emir-Qhan had risen by degrees: he had indeed such talents for business, and such fitness for command, that he was reputed superior in those respects to all the lords of the Court, as well as to all his contemporaries; on his own part he had so high an opinion of his influence, that he made but little account of all the other ministers. It happened just at this time that the Vizir being in liquor and taking the fresh air upon the top of his Palace, staggered and fell down upon the ground, where he broke some of his bones, and otherwise received so much hurt, that he kept his bed for eight months together; and although he recovered his health, he continued to be so much bruised and hurt, that he seldom came to court, being unable to stand before the Emperor; and on the other hand, as he had but a slender opinion of the capacity of his sons, and did not think any of them worthy of being entrusted with the management of affairs, he requested Emir-Qhan to transact business in his stead with the Emperor, and then retired to his house to enjoy some rest; for he came to court very seldom, and sometimes but once a month; at which time, after having stood a few moments in the Imperial presence, he was always dismissed, or took his leave of himself. As to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, he was personally attached to Emir-Qhan, to whom he thought himself indebted for his fortune; and thus this Nobleman's influence and authority, having no one to contend with, became boundless and infinite: but he was naturally gay and lively; and being accustomed for some time to talk famili-

Rise and dis-  
grace of Emir-  
Qhan.

arly



arly to the Emperor, he began to lay aside that tone of deference and air of respect, which ought never to be departed from in the presence of kings and sovereigns; for now being sole master of the court, with not one rival to envy, and not one competitor to contend with, he forgot himself so far, as to take unusual liberties with the Emperor, thinking that his advice ought always to preponderate, and that his requests ought always to be complied with. But the Emperor had another favourite, Mahmed-Iffac-Qhan, whom he raised so high, together with his brother, that they seemed so many Princes; although Emir-Qhan would make no account of them, as it was to him that their father owed their elevation. the Emperor, sensible of this, was desirous of strengthening Iffac-Qhan's interest; and it was with that view he concluded a match between Sudjah-eddöslah-Djelaeddin-haïder-Qhan, son to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan on one side, and Iffac-Qhan's sister on the other; and to engage Emir-Qhan's good will to the match, he declared himself the author of it, and appointed that Nobleman to act as his Deputy, and as Agent from the Lady, in making the necessary preparatives for the nuptials. Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, extremely pleased with the match, and desirous likewise of complimenting the Imperial pleasure, exerted himself in rendering the nuptials as pompous and as magnificent as possible: Amongst other articles which he sent, as usual, to the bride, as part of her future necessaries, people took notice of no less than a thousand and some hundreds of Vessels, (27) for water, all of silver, not one of which could weigh less than a hundred Rupees. After the celebration of the nuptials, Emir-Qhan thought proper to take his leave, and to repair to the castle of Selim-gur, where the Princes of the royal blood lived confined: to these he paid a visit; and by such a conduct he rendered himself suspected, and became obnoxious to many, especially to his jealous enemies. The Emperor himself conceived a disgust at such a step; his heart insensibly altered; and he came at last to take the man

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(27) These Vessels being mostly for Female ablutions and bathings must have contained, most of them, several gallons of Water, and weighed a thousand Rupees each at least.

whom

whom he had once loved so much; but thinking it improper to shew his resentment, he went on with dissembling and with disguising his sentiments, until a crisis was occasioned by Emir-Qhan himself. One day, as he was actually speaking to the Emperor of some matters of state, he brought forward some representations likely to take up much time; the Emperor, tired, told him these words, "*Umdet-ul-Mulk-Babadyr* (28), *Leave that for some other day.*" Emir-Qhan answered, that "*he had no more than a few words to say, and requested to be heard, as the subject was urging.*" The Emperor repeated what he had said; the minister insisted, and both the request and the excuse were repeated three several times, and three times did Emir-Qhan repeat his importunity, and be guilty of the same fault.—Unfortunately for him, there happened to be present an eunuch of the presence, whose character was as impatient and peevish, and as unaccountable and perverse, as any of that choleric tribe; and as he was an old slave of the Emperor's father and Grand-father, and had now, as superintendent of Imperial Seraglio, the disposal of several gates of the Palace, (an office of high trust) he was much in favour with that Monarch. Rooz-afzoon-Qhan, (for such was his name) impatient to see the minister's importunity, chanced to say, (but not so low however as not to be over-heard by Emir-Qhan) "*I suppose this to be such a high flavored story as admits of no delay, and must at any rate be repeated to-night to all the old women of the neighbourhood.*" The Minister, shocked, could not help saying, that "*it little became slaves to take such liberties, whilst Grandees of the Empire, and Ministers of State, were talking of matters of importance to their masters.*" The Eunuch, without being discomposed by this reprimand, sharply replied, "*that if they were slaves, they were so to none but the Emperor, and by no means to any others.*" On this, Emir-Qhan, addressing the Emperor, said, "*if this man continues in the superintendence of the Palace, your slave cannot come to Court any more.*" The Emperor, after having said some obliging things to the Minister, to appease his rising resentment, added: "*Do not be uneasy, Umdet-*

(28) This expression would answer to the English expression, My lord Duke, as it is not customary amongst the Princes of Hindostan to design their Servants and Grandees by any other appellation, than that of their title

*ul-Mulk-Babadyr, your interest is greater than his; and it shall be done as you wish.*" The Minister, after a pause, replied, "*if your Majesty really wishes to oblige the slave of your Imperial Throne, let the superintendence be bestowed upon me; and I shall appoint a proper person to execute that office, on my part.*" The Emperor agreed. The Minister getting up immediately to acknowledge the favor, made a profound bow, and departed. Being arrived at his home, he sent for Agah-Qhan, an old Eunuch of his own, who was superintendent of his hall of audience, and he promised to promote him to-morrow morning, to a high office in the Imperial Palace. But matters, mean-while, were taking a different turn in the Palace: On the Minister's departure, the Emperor complained of his importunity, and added, that "*he had been this long while tired of Emir-Qhan, and found it difficult to live with him; but now that he wants to get the disposal of most of the gates of the palace, added he, I suppose I shall be no better than his prisoner.*" The Eunuch answered, that if such was his Majesty's pleasure, it was an easy matter to provide for it. "*Do then,*" replied the Emperor, "*and make haste, for once he shall have taken possession of the superintendence, it will be then too late.*" The Eunuch, having got his cue, went out ruminating how he could find a man that would dispatch the minister: he spoke of it to one of his confidants; who answered that he knew a very fit man for the business, and that it was his own brother, who had been lately in Emir-Qhan's service, and having parted with him on the very worse terms, had said more than once in the agonies of his resentment, that he would some day or other take his life. The desperado being asked whether he would undertake to perform the work, answered in the affirmative, and was carried by his brother to the Eunuch, who on putting the question to him, was earnestly requested not to provide any other man for such a business, as he was determined to be revenged of the minister. The Eunuch seeing him resolute and eager, got him enlisted amongst the guards, and placed him in the inner apartments, where he informed him, that as soon as Emir-Qhan should get beyond the door of the private hall of audience, he must

must fall upon him directly. The wretch being shewn his post, went in, and placed himself in his ambuscade; the next day, being the twentieth of Zillhidje in the same year, Emir-Qhan came to court at day-break, although it was no court-day, and brought with him the Eunuch he wanted to entrust with the superintendence; he alighted from the paleky, and as soon as he had disengaged himself from the croud of his numerous attendants, and from the still more numerous throng of suitors, he advanced towards the hall, when the abominable murderer, without giving him time to advance above three steps within the door, rushed from behind, and gave him such a stroke in the breast with his poniard, that the unfortunate innocent Seyed fell sprawling on the ground, and expired instantly. The guards took up his body, and stretching it in his paleky, sent it home, followed by a crowd of men who were going by order to take an account of his effects and to confiscate his property.

Emir-Qhan  
murdered.

This was opposed by the military in the murdered minister's pay, who refused both to give them admittance (29), or to suffer the body to be buried, unless their arrears were first paid or insured. Not content with that, they shut up the gates, and would suffer no one to return home amongst those numerous noblemen that had come to console the family, and to purify and take up the body (30). In consequence of this, Haddy-aly-Qhan, elder brother to the deceased, and superintendant of the Elephant office, as well as Abdol-Medjid-Qhan, Divan of the Imperial Qhalissah, were shut up

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(29) All the troops of Hindostan, the English excepted, are wretchedly paid: twenty or thirty months of Arrears are no rarity. The ministers, grandees and princes, always keep twice or thrice as many men as they have occasion for, and fancy to concern them in the conservation of their Lord's life by withholding their pay. It must be observed that any impotent debtor kept these many years out of his money by a powerful creditor assumes sometimes a right of stopping his corpse. This he does by putting his hand upon it, and pronouncing a sentence of the Coran; and in general the relations and invited make up the matter by an accommodation. We have seen this done once at Lucknow by a merchant, who stopped the coffin of Mia-Amber, an Eunuch of the Palace; and once at Moosshedabad. But such an attempt requires a resolute man; otherwise it will produce a good drubbing.

(30) It is customary for the nearest relations, or the best friends, to take up the Charpay or funeral bed upon their shoulders, and to carry it alternately, to the burying ground, repeating *there is no God, but God, and Mohammed is his messenger*. Some of the most Zealous put their hand to the spade, and all throw a handful of earth upon the tomb; the body is previously shaved, washed, purified, perfumed, and wrapped; and there are a hundred rites and niceties in performing all those duties.

within,

*ul-Mulk-Babadyr; your interest is greater than his; and it shall be done as you wish.*" The Minister, after a pause, replied, "*if your Majesty really wishes to oblige the slave of your Imperial Throne, let the superintendence be bestowed upon me; and I shall appoint a proper person to execute that office, on my part.*" The Emperor agreed. The Minister getting up immediately to acknowledge the favor, made a profound bow, and departed. Being arrived at his home, he sent for Agah-Qhan, an old Eunuch of his own, who was superintendent of his hall of audience, and he promised to promote him to-morrow morning, to a high office in the Imperial Palace. But matters, mean-while, were taking a different turn in the Palace: On the Minister's departure, the Emperor complained of his importunity, and added, that "*he had been this long while tired of Emir-Qhan, and found it difficult to live with him; but now that he wants to get the disposal of most of the gates of the palace, added he, I suppose I shall be no better than his prisoner.*" The Eunuch answered, that if such was his Majesty's pleasure, it was an easy matter to provide for it. "*Do then,*" replied the Emperor, "*and make haste, for once he shall have taken possession of the superintendence, it will be then too late.*" The Eunuch, having got his cue, went out ruminating how he could find a man that would dispatch the minister: he spoke of it to one of his confidants; who answered that he knew a very fit man for the business, and that it was his own brother, who had been lately in Emir-Qhan's service, and having parted with him on the very worse terms, had said more than once in the agonies of his resentment, that he would some day or other take his life. The desperado being asked whether he would undertake to perform the work, answered in the affirmative, and was carried by his brother to the Eunuch, who on putting the question to him, was earnestly requested not to provide any other man for such a business, as he was determined to be revenged of the minister. The Eunuch seeing him resolute and eager, got him enlisted amongst the guards, and placed him in the inner apartments, where he informed him, that as soon as Emir-Qhan should get beyond the door of the private hall of audience, he  
must



must fall upon him directly. The wretch being shewn his post, went in, and placed himself in his ambuscade; the next day, being the twentieth of Zilhidge in the same year, Emir-Qhan came to court at day-break, although it was no court-day, and brought with him the Eunuch he wanted to entrust with the superintendence; he alighted from the paleky, and as soon as he had disengaged himself from the croud of his numerous attendants, and from the still more numerous throng of suitors, he advanced towards the hall, when the abominable murderer, without giving him time to advance above three steps within the door, rushed from behind, and gave him such a stroke in the breast with his poniard, that the unfortunate innocent Seyed fell sprawling on the ground, and expired instantly. The guards took up his body, and stretching it in his paleky, sent it home, followed by a crowd of men who were going by order to take an account of his effects and to confiscate his property.

Emir-Qhan  
murdered.

This was opposed by the military in the murdered minister's pay, who refused both to give them admittance (29), or to suffer the body to be buried, unless their arrears were first paid or insured. Not content with that, they shut up the gates, and would suffer no one to return home amongst those numerous noblemen that had come to console the family, and to purify and take up the body (30). In consequence of this, Haddy-aly-Qhan, elder brother to the deceased, and superintendant of the Elephant office, as well as Abdol-Medjid-Qhan, Divan of the Imperial Qhaliffah, were shut up

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(29) All the troops of Hindostan, the English excepted, are wretchedly paid: twenty or thirty months of Arrears are no rarity. The ministers, grandees and princes, always keep twice or thrice as many man as they have occasion for, and fancy to concern them in the conservation of their Lord's life by withholding their pay. It must be observed that any impotent debtor kept these many years out of his money by a powerful creditor assumes sometimes a right of stopping his corpse. This he does by putting his hand upon it, and pronouncing a sentence of the Coran; and in general the relations and invited make up the matter by an accommodation. We have seen this done once at Lucknow by a merchant, who stopped the coffin of Mia-Amber, an Eunuch of the Palace; and once at Mooshedabad. But such an attempt requires a resolute man; otherwise it will produce a good drubbing.

(30) It is customary for the nearest relations, or the best friends, to take up the Charpay or funeral bed upon their shoulders, and to carry it alternately, to the burying ground, repeating *there is no God, but God, and Mohammed is his messenger*. Some of the most Zealous put their hand to the spade, and all throw a handful of earth upon the tomb; the body is previously shaved, washed, purified, perfumed, and wrapped; and there are a hundred rites and niceties in performing all those duties.

within,

within, together with a multitude of persons of high distinction, amongst whom were Naamet-ollah-Qhan, and Bairam-Qhan, and many other noblemen of high pedigree, and of great rank. The Emperor, incensed at the opposition made by the soldiery, ordered the minister's effects to be taken possession of, without minding the pretensions of his troops or of his guards; and in case of resistance, he commanded that they should be put to the sword. But the Imperial soldiers themselves, sensible that it might be some day or other their own turn, refused to fall upon people that asked only for their due; and both parties being now come to a pause, Abool-Manfoor-Qhan interposed; he sent two persons of distinction to take in his name upon themselves the arrears due to the troops, and to render the last duties to the body of his murdered friend. By this time four days had been spent in messages and negotiations; the body was become offensive; and the ungrateful Servants, together with the ungrateful Emperor, being obstinately bent in carrying their point, matters came at last to this settlement: that the body should be dismissed out of the house, and the deceased's effects sold publicly to as much amount as would discharge the sums due to his troops. These having kept as hostages both Sidy-Bilal (31), and Mezid-Qhan-Bahadyr, the two persons of distinction, that had been sent by Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, then only the body of that unjustly murdered minister was suffered to come out. He was entombed in the monument of Qhalil-ollah-Qhan, his grand-father, close to Rooh-ollah-Qhan's Sera,—may the God of infinite mercy have bestowed upon him a place amongst his pious ancestors! After the burial, the deceased's effects were put up to sale, and his troops and dependants received their arrears from the amount; the Emperor having taken for himself some of the deceased's

(31) By his name he appears to be an Habissinian, and all Habissinians are in the highest esteem in India. The Europeans, accustomed to see in America the human nature degraded, and to pass an indiscriminate condemnation on all Africans as a race morally and physically inferior to themselves, would be surprised to see what sort of men Africa can produce. No, Englishmen themselves, are not braver or more intrepid than the Nobis or Nubians; and no European can be more faithful and grateful than an Habissinian slave. We have had slaves of both races, and have been amazed to see their exertions all over Turkey, Arabia, and Persia. In India Negroes, Habissinians, Nobis, &c. &c. are promiscuously called Habassies or Habissians, although the two latter are no Negroes; and the Nobis and Habassies differ greatly from each other.

jewels and all his arms, the latter of which he so greatly admired as to pay ten or twelve lacs for them, which was more than their value; these two articles produced fifty or sixty lacs, and had cost a great deal more. It was only after the sale that the noblemen who had come only to condole with the family, and who had been involved in its misfortunes so far as to remain besieged and confined for full eight days, found means at last to escape to their homes. Abdol-Medjid-Qhan, a minister of state, was of that number; but Haddy-ally-Qhan, the deceased's elder brother, with some other persons related to the family, could not obtain their release, even after the troops had been paid off, but by presenting the servants and dependants of the deceased, with full two year's pay as a gratuity. As to the house, and the patrimonial lands, together with the appendages of the murdered minister, they were presented by the Qhalif of the age (32), that is by the Emperor himself, to his own daughter; and that princess made them over to Mahmed-Iffac-Qhan's care. Let us now pass to some matters less melancholy,

THIS year the Nö8-r8z fell on the ninth of the first Reby, in 1160 of the Hedjrah; and this same year Yähia-Qhan, who on Abdol-Medjid-Qhan's dismissal had been promoted to the Divan-ship of the Qhaliffah-office, departed his life. The third day after his demise being elapsed, the Emperor sent for his six sons and one of his grandsons, and presented each of them with a Qhylaat of mourning; after which of his own motion he promoted the eldest son, who appeared the most capable, to the office of Moonshy or Secretary of State, held by his father. A few days after, the office of the Qhaliffah was bestowed on Mahmed Iffac-Qhan, who was installed in it with a Serpah of six pieces; and that minister in a few days after took his

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(32) The word Qhalif, signifies successor. It has been given to the first successors of Mahomet; namely to Aboobeker, Omer, Osman and Aly; and likewise to all the Emperors of the two Houses of Ommiah and Abbass. The Turkish Emperor styles himself a Qhalif, and so does the Emperor of Hindostan; and his two Capitals of Delly and Agrah are styled in his Coins and in his Ordinances, Qhalifat Residences, and also gates of the Qhalifat. The Author glances here at the hereditary aversion of all the Qhalifs against the Seyds, of which Emir-Qhan was one.

feat in his cuchery or tribunal, where he signed some papers as a mark of possession. On the middle of Shaaban, Agher-Qhan, the Turk, commandant of the Corz-bearers, dying (33), his son Chaghыр-Qhan (*a*) received, at one and the same time, a qhylaaf of mourning, and his father's office. This year likewise ushered in an event quite unexpected: Nassыр-Qhan the famous Viceroy of Cabool, who had fled from the grasp of Ahmed-shah-Abdali, came suddenly to Shah-Djehan-abad, where he was honoured with a qhylaaf of six pieces, a fabre, and an elephant; this was in hopes that, as Nadyr-Shah was no more, he might, by his connections with the Afghans of those parts, bring Cabool again under the dominions of Hindostan.

Death of Mah-  
med-Shah.

History of Ah-  
med-Shah-Ab-  
dali, the found-  
er of the new  
monarchy of the  
Doorannies.

THE year following, being the one thousand one hundred and sixty first, was remarkable by two considerable events, which changed intirely the face of the Empire: the one was the demise of Mahmed-shah who may be considered as the last Emperor of the house of Babr; the other, the irruption of Ahmed-shah-Abdali, the king of the Doorannies into Hindostan. As that Prince's invasion took place in the beginning of this year; and the battles which he gave, as well as the troubles and commotions which he caused, together with his return home, and the accession of Prince Ahmed to the throne of Hindostan, have taken up so much space of time, as to extend down to the first Djemady, we have thought proper to bring all those events into one point of view.

THIS Ahmed-shah-abdali was originally one of the principal chiefs of that tribe of Afghans settled in the province of Herat, under the name of Abdalies (34); his tribe having revolted against that conqueror of his age, the formidable Nadyr-shah, he fell prisoner in his hands, and was for some time one of the slaves of the presence; when that Prince chancing to take

(33) The Corz, or War Club, is a Turkish or Tartarian arm; and he that bears this Arm in the Emperor's presence, commands a body of Corz-berdars, or guards, with such a Weapon.

(*a*) It is very strange that these words signify in Turkish the *crying Lord*

(34) Hera is a Capital City of Iran, or Persia, in the province of Qhorasan. It has been said, that the Afghans established there, were called Abdalies, or servants of Aly, because they had once embraced the Sect of the Shyias, although they are now zealous Sunnis.

notice of him, promoted him to a post of Yesäol (35), and in a little time raised him to the command of a thousand men; and here it must be observed that although Nadyr-shah was of one of the principal of those Turkish tribes settled in Iran, yet he had so effectually incurred the hatred of his tribe, and of the whole Turkish race (36), that being thoroughly sensible of its consequences, he had made it a point to attach to his person the several tribes of Afghans and Tooranians, or Usbeghs, which he had vanquished, conquered, and subdued; his army was mostly composed of those two nations: from them he drew most of his officers and generals; and he gave them so much influence and authority, that they seemed intirely to engross his attention and favour: the Afghans especially, to whom he seemed to trust still more than to the Turks of Tooran; and he raised them so high, that on his being killed, most of the principal Afghan commanders aspired to a sovereign power, and for a long term of years commanded as so many kings, in most of the provinces of Iran. the most powerful of them, was Azad-Qhan, who was at the head of thirty thousand horses; a man who had raised such a flame in Iran, as nothing could extinguish but the waves that plentifully flowed from Kerim-Qhan-Zendi's sabre (37): another adventurer like himself, who vanquished him in battle, took him prisoner, and then made him one of his generals. Ahmed-abdali was such another commander; but he had the wisdom to avail himself of the counsels and support of Taky-Qhan, Governor of Cabool, a man whom Nadyr-shah had castrated, and whom he nevertheless feared: this Ahmed-Abdali, in the confusion that ensued after Nadyr-shah's death, fled from camp and meeting in his flight a convoy of treasure which was going to the army, under the charge of Tahmasp-Djelair, he fell upon the escort, seized the money,

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(35) The Yesäols answer to the Indian Chopdars, or Mace-bearers, but with this difference, that the Yesäols are armed.

(36) It is those Turkish tribes who spread chiefly in the northern parts of Iran, where they live under Tents, and are in general either Husbandmen or Shepherds, that furnish almost all the Soldiers of Persia.

(37) These excellent Sabres made in Persia are of a Steel that seems to run into waves.

and



and made use of it to attract so many Afghans to his service, that in a short time he became a potent prince, who struck money, and was prayed for publicly in the mosques. He made seven journeys or expeditions in Hindostan, all which shall be successively mentioned in these sheets. The first was at the end of the year 1150, being then in Nadyr-shah's victorious army, with which he likewise returned to Iran, the next year. As he had been bred by that Prince, much regard was always paid him; and the next year he obtained leave to go home, and see his friends. On his return to the army, he resolved to go in Pilgrimage to the monument, guarded by hosts of angels, the venerable Mausolæum of the Pontiff of men and spirits, Sooltan-Abool-Hassen-Aly, son to Moosa-Reza, (on whom be grace and endless praise!) (38). After having performed his devotions at that sacred shrine, he was going away, when he observed a Religious, sitting up close to the head of the miraculous tomb, a bit of cloth upon two sticks, as if it were a tent for small children. Ahmed could not help pausing a while, to ask him what he was playing about? The man, looking stedfastly in his face, answered: "*Art thou Akmed-Abdaly?*" "*I am,*" said the other. "*This tent,*" replied the fakyr, "*is Nadyr-shah's imperial tent; whenever it comes to fall, thou shalt become a king.*" Ahmed, surpris'd at such a prediction left one of his attendants at the fakyr's, with orders to attend to the motion of the tent, and to take down the day and hour whenever it should fall; and he continued his journey to camp: he was hardly arrived, when Nadyr-shah was killed; and Ahmed, assembling those of his own Clan, fled

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(38) This tomb is in the city of Toofs, which has from thence been called Mesh-hed. Those that are stichers for miracles ought to go to that spacious mosque, where every year several miracles are performed, in so public, and notorious a manner, that there is no room left for a doubt. Blind, or lame men, or maimed, known for such amongst their own tribe, and throughout that populous city, recover their sight, or the use of their limbs; and as soon as the saint has granted such a request, the military musick seated at the top of the main-gate, plays the whole day to give public notice; so that imposition seems to be out of question here, and not so much as thought of; and yet imposition appears on the very face of every one of those miracles, as well as on the face of this very credulous tale; we have seen, at Mecca, two men that had recovered in Mesh-hed, the one the use of his eyes, shut up by small-pox; and the other the use of his leg; they had certificates better attested than any of those miracles so renowned in Europe; and for all that it was evident on the face of the certificates that the writers knew nothing of physicks, nor of truth; and that they were mere bunglers at miracle-making.

with them, and arrived at Mesh-hed, where his first care was to visit the holy monument, and the man stationed at the tent. The latter, looking at his paper, mentioned the day and hour, when it had tumbled down of itself. Ahmed, overjoyed at this intelligence, compared the dates, acknowledged the veracity of the prediction; and from that moment he commenced to aspire to a Throne. He joined to his own body of troops, as many Abdalis as he could persuade; and being now at the head of a considerable force, he engaged Taky-Qhan to join his party; this governor nick-named Capon, who was a man of consequence, that had rendered great services to Nadyr-Shah, by whose order he had been castrated, was then in that country; and by his counsels he proved of great service to Ahmed. The latter now put upon his turbant the Djica or Aigrette of sovereignty; and hearing that the tribute of Cabool and Mooltan was on its way to camp, under the guard of Mir-Mahmed-Säyd and Moor-Mahmed-Qhan Leti, two officers of character, he fell upon the escort, took the treasure, and engaged the two officers to join his party. Being thus reinforced by a good body of troops, and in possession of so much money, he marched against an Afghan who commanded in Candahar, and having killed him in battle, he took that fortress; from thence he engaged by dint of intreaties Shah-Sabur, the religious of the tent, to come into his camp and to follow his fortunes. This Saint-Patience, (for such is the import of his name) was a grand-son of the famous master Helal, the farrier of Cabool, who had likewise turned Fakyr, and was greatly revered by the Tooranians (39). Ahmed-abdaly, after seizing the above treasure, offered the government of Cabool to Nassyr-Qhan, who had commanded there ever since Nadyr-Shah had confirmed him in that post; but it was on condition that on his arrival at that fortress, he could send to camp immediately the sum of five lacks. The condition being accepted, the governor received his Qhylaar, and he repaired to his post, where he

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(39) The Euz-beg Tartars, as well as all the Tartars and Calmucks, are called Tooranies or Tooranians, in Hindostan.

affembled the principal inhabitants, to whom he expofed the Shah's demand. As that city is noftly inhabited by Afghans, a nation whose characteristic qualification is faithleffnefs and deceit, they all declared that it was impoffible to raife any money amongst them. the Governor obferved, that if they did not pay the money they would be called to an account, as well as himfelf, and what then do you intend to do, added he;—" We fhall fight," answered the affembly. Naffyr-Qhan having expreffed many doubts on this refolution of their's, they all joined in confirming their engagement by the moft facred oaths and the moft folemn execrations. On which the Governor fent back the Doorrani's guards, which had come back with him from camp. Ahmed being informed of all this, ran to befiege the place; when the inhabitants, forgetting their late engagements, retired every one to their houfes; and Naffyr-Qhan, not thinking it fafe to tarry in the place, retired to Peshavor, after having fortified fome ftrong paffes; whilst the Caboolians, joining Ahmed, informed him of the manner of penetrating to that place: the Abdaly, on this intelligence, haftened to Peshavor; and Naffyr-Qhan, feeing his danger, faid farewell to his family, and prepared himfelf for a vigorous defence.

WHILST Ahmed-abdaly was marching to befiege Peshavor, fortune was planning a new fet of fuccesses for that new Monarch: we have mentioned that on Zekaria-Qhan's demife, his fecond fon, Shah-nevaz-Qhan, had feized the Government, and driven away his elder brother; he was now governing the two Provinces of Lahor and Mooltan, with nearly an abfolute authority. He had, for his pay-mafter-general, one Adina-beg-Qhan, who was a very devil, under the appearance of a man. This man who had refolved to overfet his mafter's power, and to raife his own on it's ruins, addreffed him in thefe words " *You are no more than a nephew to Vizir Cammer-eddin-Qhan, but your elder brother, Tabiä-Qhan, is his Son-in-law befides; and he is gone to carry complaints againft you to court: Reft affured, then, that neither Emperor nor Vizir fhall let you alone in the full enjoyment of two Governments. You have however one refource, and it is this: Join Ahmed-*

“ *med-Abdaly's party, a powerful and successful* ” *son, who openly aspires*  
 “ *to a crown, and will look upon your joining his party as the most unex-*  
 “ *pected favour which heaven could confer upon him.* ” This speech had  
 its full effect. Shah-Nevaz-Qhan acknowledged the goodness of the ad-  
 vice, and opened a correspondence with the Abdaly. These two men soon  
 came to an agreement; and it was concluded in these terms: *the Crown to*  
*Ahmed; the Vizirship, to Shah-Nevaz.* The Abdaly had been so astonished  
 at the proposal of making him a present of two such Provinces, that he had  
 prostrated himself on the ground, and had acknowledged the divine inter-  
 position on his undertaking. He immediately ordered the agreement to be  
 drawn up, got it witnessed and guaranteed by the principal commanders  
 of his army, and then sent it by a person of distinction.

THIS scheme having taken place, the incarnate devil set up another:  
 he wrote to Cammer-eddin-Qhan, the Vizir, “ That his Nephew, had  
 “ conceived chimerical schemes in his mind, affected independence, and  
 “ had opened a channel of correspondence with Ahmed-Abdaly: that he  
 “ was become so head-strong, as to make no account of the remonstrances  
 “ of his best servants; but that they would not fail to make another effort  
 “ upon him as soon as the minister should have endeavoured to soothe  
 “ his mind, and to gain his heart.” The Vizir, astonished at the intelli-  
 gence, took pen immediately, and with his own hand wrote a very affect-  
 ing letter to his nephew. The purport was, “ That their family, at all times  
 “ attached to the Emperors of Hindostan, had never been defiled by the  
 “ crime of ingratitude and treason. Beware of such a crime: beware of  
 “ thinking that a traitor can thrive. It is a pity that a man like you  
 “ should wish for the honor of obeying Ahmed-Abdaly, the Yesaol, ra-  
 “ ther than that of driving such a fellow from the frontiers of Hindostan;  
 “ would not the five Provinces of Cabool, Cashmir, Tatta, Lahor, and  
 “ Mootlan, fall into your hands, in such a case? and would not your  
 “ good uncle exert himself in supporting you with all the power of the  
 “ Empire



"Empire (40)?" This letter produced its effect, and he was reclaimed from his folly; but Adina-beg-Qhan, who had put together all the parts of his scheme, resolved to avail himself of this rupture with Ahmed-Abdaly.

WE have left this Prince wondering at Naffyr-Qhan's defection, and marching to besiege him in Peshavor. The latter, after having defended himself as long as his provisions and ammunition lasted, and his small numbers would admit, was thinking of escaping out of the town, and providing for his safety; but this was far from being easy. His deputy, who was equally brave and zealous, seeing his distress, addressed him in these words: "*Get out of this place, as well as you can; and fly towards Hindostan. I shall contrive to hold out one day and two nights more, by which time, you shall be too far off to be overtaken by any enemies.*" Naffyr-Qhan, having approved the advice, escaped out of the town with a few friends, and fled with all his might, but in distress of every thing. Mean while the deputy having held out as much as he promised, was slain at the second assault; and Ahmed-Abdaly got possession of the town, in which Naffyr-Qhan's family and consort came into the Victor's power. Ahmed, out of regard to her merit, and to her being daughter of Zir-deft-Qhan, grandson to the famous Aly-Merdan-Qhan (41), not only took care of supporting her with decency and honor, but he in a little time set her at liberty.

WHILST that forlorn family was receiving so generous a treatment, Naffyr-Qhan arrived at Lahor, where he had taken his residence in a Mosque (42). But Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, no sooner heard of the arrival of such an illustrious fugitive, than he went to see him, and intreated him to join him in attacking the Abdaly. The other declined the proposal several times,

(40) It appears from this, that Ahmed-Abdaly had already taken possession of Cashmir, which is North of Cabool, as well as of Tatta, which is South of it; the two provinces of Mooltan and Lahor being betwixt. All those countries now, as well as Candahar, Herat, and all Qhorason, as far as Mafsh-hed, belong to the Abdaly or Doorani monarchy, as does part of Eusbeg-tartary.

(41) Aly-Merdan-Qhan, after revolting from the famous Shah-abbas of Persia, then occupied against the Turks, made a present of his person and of his fortress Candahar to Shah-Djehan, whose favorite he became. It is he that made that Canal of seventy-eight miles, which brings so much water to Dehli. It is now choked up.

(42) As do all Fakys and all people in distress.



and declared his resolution of going to court; Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, finding he could not prevail upon him, took his leave, carrying with him that governor's steward. Being arrived at his palace, he desired him to accept in his master's name an equipage suitable to his rank and former station; and he immediately sent him all the elephants, horses, camels, arms, and furniture, necessary for a nobleman of high pedigree, without forgetting a kitchen, and a water equipage (43), with a number of cooks and a quantity of provisions. To this he added four lacs of rupees in gold, for his travelling charges.

THE Viceroy had hardly dismissed that illustrious fugitive, when he received a letter from the Abdali-king with an invitation to come over to his camp. The other refused flatly. The Abaly reminded him of his engagement; and Shah-Nevaz-Qhan answered only by letters that shewed how much his mind was altered. This being heard of by Shah-Sabur, who was become Ahmed's director and tutelar saint, and who now remembered of his being born at Lahor, and of his having lived a long time there; he took Ahmed's leave, and went alone to Lahor, where he landed in the Mufty-Abdollah's house. Shah-Nevaz-Qhan, hearing of that extraordinary man's arrival, sent Adina-beg-Qhan and his divan, Radja Kura-mull (44) to know his purpose;—the holy man answered: "*I have no business with any of you; nor do I intend you any harm. I come only because I cannot help remembering that I was born in this city, had connections with some of its Citizens, and am under obligations to some of its former rulers. I cannot help feeling for them all, therefore I tell you, faithfulness has never proved successful; neither is it an object of approbation with either God or man; nor is your Sabre equal to Ahmed-Abdaly's sabre.*" He was yet speaking, when a voice from behind broke out in this exclamation: *Is his Sabre of iron, and our's of wood?*" No, replied the Fakir: "*Your Sabre, as well*"

*How so,*

(43) As water is cooled in India by the assistance of Salt-petre, and people are so very nice in that element as to drink only of some Rivers, the article of water becomes an office by itself.

(44) The importance of these two personages shews what a high degree of respect is payed to Fakirs, and especially to living saints in Hindostan.

*"as his, is of iron, but your fortune is not equal to his. His star is now in its ascension, and I do not see that your's keeps pace with it."*

ADINA-BEG-QHAN who carried this message to his Master, seemed to be affected by it; nor was Shah-Nevaz-Qhan himself without some emotion. But however, no peace took place; and he ordered the fakyr to be kept in custody in Adina-Beg-Qhan's palace. Ahmed finding that nothing was to be gained by letters, marched to Lahor, from whence Shah-Nevaz-Qhan came out with a numerous army, well furnished with artillery and every other necessary; and both sides seemed eager to engage: when the Viceroy sent to ask from a fakyr, who meddled with astrology, what he thought would be the fate of the day? Shah-Kelb-Ally (for such was the man's name) (45) answered: *"This day is not favorable to you. If you can help it, abstain from fighting to day. The day of to-morrow with the following days, will be more favorable to your cause. Beware of engaging to-day."* The Viceroy on this answer, sent orders to his commanders, not to fight to day, but to keep themselves within their retrenchment, even should they be attacked; in which case, they were only to repel the enemy. This said, he went to his tent, and took some repose, until supper time came; and he was already seated with Adina-beg-Qhan and some other commanders, when they heard the report of a great gun, and then another. Upon enquiry it was found that a body of the enemy's horses having made its appearance, two hundred Kuzzelbashes on horseback had quitted the intrenchment to fight them; and that the enemy had retired; but had come again to the number of about two thousand, which large body had dispersed on some canon being fired at them. Some time after a swift horseman came to the Viceroy to desire immediate assistance: he said, that his Cuzzelbashes having sallied forth a second time, had been worsted, and obliged to retreat within the enclosure; and as they came pellmell with the enemy,

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(45) These words signify, *Saint Dog of Aly*. The Persians, who think all Dogs impure, make however an exception in favor of Aly's Dog; and they are fond of hearing his name, which was *Camber*. Nay they assign him a place in Paradise.

the artillery had therefore forbore firing; in consequence of which the Abdalies had penetrated within the camp, and were filling it with slaughter and confusion. On hearing this Shah-Nevaz-Qhan was going to mount, and he immediately sent Adina-beg-Qhan to the assistance of those attacked, with orders to drive the Abdalis out of the intrenchment only. This officer, having put his hand upon his eyes in token of obedience, marched with his troops, but he took to the left, and contented himself with being a spectator of the engagement. By this time the Viceroy was upon his elephant; and whilst he was encouraging his men, Adina-beg-Qhan advanced a little farther, but stopped short again. Luckily it was already dark, and the Abdalies had retired of their own accord. But Adina-beg-Qhan, having already retired with his troops within the city, even so early as the evening, a panic had seized most of those that remained, and every one strove to save himself within the walls, without minding their officers. The Viceroy confounded at this reverse, returned to his quarters, where he wanted to alight in his tent. This was strongly opposed by a relation of his, who sat behind him, and objected that there was no safety left in camp; and that it was better to retire within the walls, and to fight the enemy from behind that cover. This the Viceroy admitted, but he proposed to take such a party only to-morrow, adding that this was an unfavorable day for him, and that to-morrow all would be well again. The other continuing to object, the Viceroy gave way; but as soon as he had turned the head of his elephant towards the city, such as had remained yet in camp, took example from him, and fled on all sides, making haste to get at the gate; at this moment, a body of faithless Tooranians in his service, who had preserved their presence of mind, availing themselves of the general panick, fell at once upon the run-aways, and commenced killing and stripping and plundering; not content with that, they advanced to the head-quarters, where they plundered the Governor's tents and equipage, whilst he was yet in fight. The Viceroy amazed at this sudden revolution, alighted at his Palace, where  
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some of his commanders arrived at the same time, proposing terms of accommodation. The Pay-master-general, Adina-Beg-Qhan, arrived also: the Viceroy bid him bring the Fakir. The Pay-master answered that in the confusion they had killed him; killed him! said the Viceroy, incensed, and seizing one of the marble knobs that kept the Carpets fixed to the ground, he struck the Pay-master in the breast, exclaiming at the same time, that after such an action they could not even shew their faces. Finding that matters were past all remedy, he distributed to a number of trusty servants a quantity of bags of gold, and putting some Caskets full of Jewels of high value in the hands of some eunuchs attached to his person, he quitted the city, and fled; and thus the army without being beaten, left the victory to the enemy. The next morning, the Abdalies entered the city without the least opposition, and fell a plundering so leisurely, that nothing could escape their hands. Adina-beg-Qhan had had the precaution to get early out of the place, with his troops and all his fortune, and to take to a precipitate flight. Mean while the Viceroy, after being overtaken by his Tooranians, who offered him all kinds of insults and ill usage, met the Vizir upon the road, who dismissed him to the capital.

The Abdaly Prince, having in this easy manner gained a great victory and conquered two provinces, turned his views upon the very Capital of Hindostan. He had, in his campaign with Nadyr Shah, fully observed the weakness of the Empire, the imbecility of the Emperor, the inattention of his ministers, and that spirit of independence which had crept among the grandees:—being now unexpectedly so far advanced, he concluded that the expedition he had determined on within himself would not prove a very difficult task. Full of these hopes, he commenced his march from Lahor, carrying with him Mahmed-Taky-Qhan, the Capon, who served both as his chief counsellor and as his generallissimo. Mahmed-Shah informed of this, resolved to oppose him; and he sent his son Ahmed-Shah at the head of a numerous army, commanded by the Vizir and the principal grandees of the Empire, such as Abool-Manfoor-Khan, Radja-Afiri-Sing-

Sing-Seväi, son to Radja Djehi-Sing, and some other Radjas of the province of Adjmir, whether of the Rhator family or others: all of which commanded troops of their own tribes. It was in the year 1161 of the Hedjah. The principal nobility of Hindostan were in that army; such as Zolficar-Djung, Shir-Djung, and Muäien-el-Mulk, all three sons to the Vizir. The Vizir, in receiving his audience of leave from the Emperor, was particularly distinguished by that Prince, who taking from his own turban a fatch-pitch (46), and a nosegay of beaten gold, put them with his own hand on the Vizir's head, and dismissed him with exhortations to fight the enemies of his crown valiantly. A fatch-pitch was likewise presented to every one of the other lords and generals. Zolficar-Djung, elder son to the Vizir, was honoured with the office of Third Paymaster-general, an office vacant since Emir-Qhan's death; and he was moreover entrusted with the care of the Imperial Prince's person, over whom he was to watch as his tutor: by this promotion the office of Fourth Paymaster became vacant, which was bestowed on Mahmed Issac-Qhan. After these promotions the Imperial Prince marched at the head of his numerous army to Ser-hend, and advanced as far as the river Sutuludj; where he encamped on the ford. The Abdaly monarch, without minding the ford, marched above it by Lod-hiana, and arrived within Ser-hend: his army, by authentic accounts, not amounting to more than sixty-seven thousand horses. It was the thirteenth of the first Reby, in the year 1161. The town of Ser-hend was plundered and sacked, and every one found in arms was put to the sword. On this, the Shah Zadah marched to the enemy, but on approaching a little nearer, that Prince, according to that riveted custom of the Hindoos, who never think themselves a match for an army of foreigners, stopped short, and surrounded his army with an intrenchment and a ditch, within which he kept himself; and from the fifteenth of the first Reby until the twenty-sixth, nothing was to be

(46) Fatch-pitch signifies a circlet of victory; it ought to be of steel, or of mails of iron, and common men wear it so of late, that is these fifty years, when the dress has undergone considerable changes, and is become very military; it is now turned into an ornament, and is a quilted piece of jewells or embroidery, ten fingers broad in the middle, and six or seven at the ends. It is fastened from behind upon the turban, and comes upon it as far as above the ears, where it is made fast.



seen but continual attacks and skirmishes, with great slaughter on both sides. The Abdaly had no artillery, but Fortune brought him a convoy of provisions, canon, rockets, and ammunition, which fell into his hands: he availed himself of this assistance to pour in a shower of balls within the intrenchment; insomuch that the Hindostany army, although very numerous, seemed to be besieged by the Abdalies and Kuzzelbashies. The seventh day of this singular Siege, it happened that the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan, being about noon-day at his prayers (47), a canon ball came and killed him on the spot. This accident discouraged the Hindoos who were in camp, to the number of twenty or thirty thousand, under the command of Afiri-Sing, and some other Radjahs. With one common accord they despaired of the cause, and coming out of camp, they stretched the feet of trepidation on the boundless plain of despondency; and marched back to their homes. But this desertion, considerable and discouraging as it was, did not damp the courage of either the Shah-Zadah's, or of Abool-Manfoor-Qhan's, or of Müaïen-el-Mulk's, or of the other sons of the late Vizir's. They fought the enemy several times with an undaunted courage, and always with much slaughter on both sides; until the morning of the twenty-sixth, when the Abdaly king, putting himself at the head of his troops, gave an assault to the Vizir's quarter, but was vigorously repulsed by Müaïen-el-Mulk, alias Mir-mannoo, the Vizir's eldest son, who acquired a great deal of honor in that trying occasion. A body of Toorani-ans commanded by Djanish-Qhan, and some other officers, mindful of the many obligations which their nation owed to that family, fought with great vigour, and cheerfully shed their blood in their defence; and vast numbers of the Vizir's troops became that day so much food to the scimitar, that devouring crocodile of the seas of slaughter and blood. The enemies pushing forwards penetrated to the very quarter of the Shah-zadah's, and a mighty loss, together with a great disgrace, was going to befall the Hindostanies, when they were timely assisted by a body of troops in good

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(47) The Musulmen pray five times a day: the noon-prayer is the longest.

order sent by Abool-Manfoor-Qhan: that general ordered the remainder of his horses, mostly Moguls, to alight; and putting himself at their head, he marched fiercely to the enemy, preceded by some small canon, and a number of men, armed with rockets and wall-pieces; he came in a very critical moment, and putting himself between Mir-mannoo and the Abdalies, he brought the latter to a stand; and here the engagement, taking a new vigor, became warm and bloody; the enemy already fatigued by the resistance made by the Shah-zadah and Mir-manno, found themselves at once assaulted by a body of fresh troops, who marched in good order, and were pouring a storm of musket-bullets, canon-balls, and rockets, upon them. At this critical moment, some of the ammunition and rocket-carts seized at Ser-hend, by some accident took fire; in an instant thousands and ten thousands of rockets and other artifices were at once in a blaze; and these flying in all directions throughout the Abdaly's army, destroyed most of the enemy's troops by heaps (48); the rest fell into disorder and confusion; and Ahmed, after having made repeated efforts to remedy the accident, and to rally his dismayed troops, reluctantly turned his back to the field of battle, and fled where his bad fortune pointed, leaving the victory to the Hindostany Prince, and the greatest part of his army on that field of slaughter. He had sent in the evening a message to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, the purport of which I could not learn; but the next morning he beat the General at day-break, and marched back by the high road that leads to Cabool and Candahar.

MAHMED-SHAH on being informed of so signal a victory, and how instrumental the Vizir's three sons had been in it, especially the eldest; as well as how timely and vigorously they had been succoured by Abool-Manfoor-Qhan's critical interposition; could not help giving way to his joy and satisfaction: although he was then upon his death-bed. He himself read the relation, and immediately bestowed the governments of Lahor and

(48) It appears by the constant testimony of two officers now in Moorshoodabad, but who commanded amongst the Moguls of Abool Manfoor-Qhan's, that they took one part of the Abdaly artillery, and that the fire took only on the other part.

Mooltan on Mir-Mannoo, and at the same time he wrote pressing letters to his son, to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, and to the other Lords, with orders to repair immediately to Court. With these letters came a Qhilaat with which the Imperial Prince himself invested Mir-Mannoo in the name of the Emperor his father; giving him order at the same time to take possession of the two governments conferred upon him. The Prince after this ceremony set out for the capital without loss of time, as the Emperor was growing worse and worse; and signs of an approaching gangrene were making their appearance: the Monarch beheld death advancing step after step, and letters after letters arrived daily demanding both his son and Abool-Manfoor-Qhan; nor did these two noble persons give themselves any rest; they were already arrived at Pani-Poot (49), in the neighbourhood of the capital, when intelligence came that the Emperor was no more. He died the twenty-seventh of the second Reby, in the beginning of the thirty-first year of his reign, which answers to the year 1161 of the Hedjrah. But in consequence of a consultation between Iffac-Qhan and Djavid-Qhan the eunuch, and some other lords, to which the Empress Maleka Zemani gave her consent, his death was kept secret; so that his body, remaining some days above ground, became offensive, as had already happened to Emir-Qhan's body, as if to prove that holy sentence of the Coran, "*So hast thou done, so shalt thou find.*" Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, being repeatedly informed of all this, passed secretly with the Shah-zadah three days in mourning; and the fourth day he made choice of a favourable moment to erect a canopy, and to whirl several times round and over the Prince's head a chatry or umbrella, which he had run up in haste for the occasion; after which he presented his nuzur by way of making his homage, prayed for his prosperity, and wished him a long reign (50). The new Emperor after

(49) Pani-poot is a town three days journey from the Capital, and upon the Canal that carries so much water to that City; nay this very circumstance has given name to the town, for *Pani-poot* signifies derivated water, or water's Offspring.

(50) An instrument to keep off the sun and rain has been always held as one of the principal insignia of sovereignty in Hindostan; it is made like a French Parasol, and a Chinese umbrella; and the Taht-taoofo, or Peacock-throne, made by Shah Djehan, had such an appendage, as have all thrones of an Emperor; but the whirling it round a few times over his head, in token of sovereignty, is a curious anecdote to be found nowhere else.

this ceremony, marched to the capital with great pomp and magnificence. Being arrived at Shaleh-mar, an Imperial seat in the neighbourhood of the capital, he received the applause and respects of all the ministers of state and all the grandees of the empire, who proclaimed him with a common voice. After this ceremony, the body of Mahmed-shah was brought out of the Haram-fera, or sanctuary, and in the middle of a pompous cortege was carried upon the shoulders of all the grandees, to the monument of Shah-Nizam-Eddin, where it was buried in a Mausoleum, close to that which the Prince's mother had erected for herself in her life time. The new Emperor, on the seventh of Djemady, made his entry into the capital, mounted upon a moving-throne; and from thence, he went to reside in the citadel: Five days after, it being on a Friday, he repaired to the great Mosque, where having heard the Qhootbah pronounced in his name with other applications usual on such a solemnity, he returned to his Palace. In this same month both Moorteza-Qhan and Moorid-Qhan departed their lives.

As to myself, I was about this time in great perturbation of mind, having just lost Zin-eddin-ahmed-Qhan, my patron, who had been murdered by the treachery of Shimshir-Qhan; an afflicting event, which I learned at Gazipoor, and which made me retreat to Benares, from whence I went to Berhelly, which was my forgiven father's residence; that city is the capital of the countries of Bedaön, and Shah-Djehan-poor, &c. which contained Nizam-el-Mulk's Djaghir, and had been put by Ghazy-eddin-Qhan, his son, under the command of my father: It was at his feet I lived sometime, when a terrible event happened there, from the consequence of which I escaped with difficulty, as I shall mention in the subsequent pages.

My forgiven father had been, as I have said, promoted by Abool-Manfoor-Qhan's influence to the government of Sekenderah, when, taking my leave of that general, I repaired to Azimabad, where I paid my respects to my glorious mother, and visited my uncles and my other relations, most

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The author  
quits his History  
to speak of him-  
self.



of whom were allied either to Aly-verdy-Qhan himself, or to his nephews; there also I took a spouse in the family, which my mother had appointed: from thence I followed my uncles to the wars; and in the engagements against Mustapha-Qhan, I rendered such whatever services as could be expected from me. But a rupture soon took place between Abool-Manfoor-Qhan and my father, after the latter had remained one year in Sekenderah; and about the same time the countries of Moorad-abad, Sambal, and Berhaily, having being recovered from the hands of the Rohilahs by Mahmed-Shah in person, who thought proper to return those lands and districts to those to whom they had belonged before, either as altumghas or djaghirs; my father was a second time sent to command in those parts with full powers. The city of Berhaily with the circumjacent country was a paternal djaghir of Nizam-el-Mulk's; and as in consequence of the power and usurpations of Aly-Mahmed-Qhan-Rohilah, those parts had become of small revenue, no person caring to expose his purse and honor on their product, the whole had been committed to the care of my forgiven father, who found much difficulty in quieting his government: for although Rohilah himself had been driven away and was gone to Ser-hend, there were thousands and ten thousands of Afghans spread all over the country, where they had taken so deep root, that they had become the Zemindars of that tract, and had to their own Afghan stubbornness added all the perverseness and all the refractory behaviour inherent to the character of a Zemindar: so that, none but my father was thought equal to the task of bringing them to order and submission. Ghazy-eddin-Qhan therefore, having sent his own steward thither for a while, recalled my father; and after conferring with him some time, and furnishing him with every necessary, and with full powers, he sent him back with instructions. My forgiven father thus supported, raised a good body of troops, and marching throughout the country, he soon brought the city of Berhaily and the seventeen other districts under order and controul: for a further security, he thought it a piece of policy to admit the principal Afghans amongst his troops;



troops; and thus Serdar-Qhan of Berhëily, and Mangal-Qhan of Telhur, took service with him, each at the head of about two thousand men; as did another Afghan of illustrious race with seventeen hundred others. This last was called Pir-ahmed, and was a descendant of Sheh-abdol-cadyr-Ghilanii, the great saint of the Afghan nation.

BUT these were not all the turbulent spirits of that country: there lived then in those parts a man of great character and distinction, a descendent of Uzmet-ollah-Qhan, one of the two brothers who had so long commanded in Mooradabad; it was Cootoob-eddin-Mohammed-Qhan-Bahadyr, who was nephew to Ferid-eddin-Qhan, a nobleman in whose service Aly-Mahmed-Qhan-Rohilah had been for a length of time: he lived in the castle of Cha-chutt, and seemed inclined to quarrel with my father; but he had but a small force, and still less money. My father sent him several mild rebukes on his improper behaviour; but all to so little purpose, that he was at last obliged to think of correction and chastisement. Cootoob-eddin's troops seeing that he had brought the governor of the country upon himself, deserted him immediately, and there remained to him only twenty or thirty ancient friends and servants who would not leave him, but chose to shut themselves up with him in the above castle. My father hearing of this, surrounded it immediately, and went several times round the walls on his elephant, to find out a proper place for an assault. It must be observed that Cootoob-eddin-Qhan greatly valued himself upon his skill in shooting with ~~a~~ musquet; and in fact he was renowned all over the country for making use of balls and musquets of twice the size and length of the ordinary ones; and he fired with so much precision, that he never missed his mark: several of his followers were equal to him in that art. Now as my father was going every day round the walls, both himself and his best marks-men repeatedly took aim, and repeatedly fired at him, without being able to hit any thing but the boards of his hemhary, or his cushions, or his clothes and turbant. Cootoob-eddin-Qhan incensed at his eternally missing his enemy, threw down his gun, swore he would never fire again

Troubles in  
Rohil-cund.

again, and sent to my father to desire a conference and an accommodation. This interview was requested with a design to kill my father in the middle of the conference, the man being of such a determined daringness that he never stuck at any thing to compass his own ends. His few followers, being as daring as himself, resolved to stand by him in that trying occasion: But as they pretended fears and suspicions, it was agreed that they should come armed, and the agreement was guaranteed by Seyd-Aly-Qhan, my father's fourth brother, and by Pir-ahmed, the Rohilah commander. On the appointed day, they came out of the castle, and were received by my uncle in his tent, in expectation of being sent for by my father. But that nobleman unwilling to meet so hastily a party of desperadoes, whom he knew to be highly incensed against him, returned for answer, that he hoped they would repose themselves the remainder of the day in his brother's tent, as his guests; and that the next morning he would give them the meeting. The man hearing such an answer, suspected some treachery; and although he with his ten or twelve men was sitting amongst a multitude of armed Afghans, and close to my uncle and Pir-Ahmed, he expressed his resentment without minding his situation, and said that they ought, with their beards as men, to wear long hair upon their heads, as women: Openly reproaching them at the same time with their faithlessness in bringing him in such a deceitful manner out of the castle. My uncle and Pir-Ahmed, without minding his air and tone of voice, represented mildly that no breach of faith would happen, and that no harm was intended to him; but that the governor being eternally busy, might have particular reasons for his putting off the interview till to-morrow, and that mean while there was no harm at all in his requesting him to be his guest. That officer was yet speaking, when several sneakers of a cool lemonade were brought in; and a moment after these were followed by a number of tables, covered with a variety of costly and dainty victuals, to which was added a message from my father, requesting his guest to partake of such an entertainment as his camp afforded, and to take some repose

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until the next morning. The man, who had been both hungry and angry all this while, finding himself so gently used, dropped his resentment, and fell to eating so heartily, that at the end of his meal he had commenced speaking in a friendly manner. After his dinner, some presents were sent him, which he accepted. Cootoob-eddin-Qhan, seeing that no harm could be intended, altered his resolution within his heart, and became reconciled to my father. The next morning, the Derbar being full, the new guest was conducted to the audience-tent between my uncle and Pir-ahmed, followed by a numerous throng of Afghan officers. My father on descrying him got up, and having embraced him, made him sit with himself upon the same mesned: and he received his friends as they approached one by one, in the manner which his guest seemed to wish. Cootoob-eddin overcome by so much kindness and so unexpected a condescension, could not help exposing the intention with which he had originally come out of the castle; and he added that the sudden change wrought in his heart yesterday, together with his missing perpetually his aim,—he who had never lost a bullet!—were events which he could ascribe to nothing but to some sacredness inherent in his person, and doubtless derived to him from his Sëyd ancestors. My father hearing this, could not help laughing; and he continued speaking to the man with so much regard and favor, that he made a conquest of his heart; after which he proposed to him to take service in his troops, and to attach himself to his person as a friend and a companion. Cootoob-eddin, after stipulating some conditions, accepted the proffer; and thus enmity and diffidence ended in friendship and confidence.

So much sudden favor, and such marks of distinction, excited sentiments of envy and discontent in Pir-ahmed, a principal commander amongst the Afghans, who thought he had more right to them himself; his mind was so ulcerated, that every fresh kindness shewn to the new guest seemed to thrust thorns and scorpion-stings in his heart, which otherwise was disinclined on account of the difference of sect between himself and his master;

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the latter being a zealous Shyah, and the other a turbulent Sunni: Whereas Cootoob-eddin, as well as his friend Sheh-Müez-eddin-Qhan, (an officer now living at Lucknow, and whose feats of valor and generosity we shall have occasion to mention) were of a race celebrated for their zealous attachments to the tenets of the Shyahs, as well as for their illustrious achievements, and for their being descended of persons attached to the service of the holy house (51); (upon all whom be grace). He was himself respected by the country-men as their lord and their master's son; and it was on that very account that my father had introduced him in all the affairs of administration. This alienated entirely Pir-ahmed's heart; he quitted the service, and sought a revenge in exciting troubles; and as the Afghans in my father's service, as well as those all over the country, were all either his tenants, or men accustomed to serve under him, they made it a point to join him and to obey his summonses; and the evil rose to such a height, that my father was obliged to march against him, and to bring him to order. Cootoob-eddin, who was appointed his general, took the command of the Vanguard. An engagement ensued, when Pir-ahmed dividing his troops in two, opposed his bravest and best marksman to Cootoob-Eddin, and with the rest he concealed himself in the ruined houses of an abandoned village, and in some fields grown over with tall sugar-canes, expecting to have my father at his discretion from such an ambuscade. The engagement being already commenced, Cootoob-Eddin with his bravest men, taking his musquet, and quitting his horse, rushed thro' the thickest of the enemy, bearing down every thing before him. They say that whilst he was taking aim with his gun, a trooper of the enemy's sprung at his side, and crying "*Cootoob-eddin-Mahmed-Qhan, have at you,*" he advanced with his sabre up-lifted, Cootoob-eddin altering only the direction of his piece, answered, "*have at you yourself,*" and laid him sprawling on the ground. That brave troop of his, animated by such exertions, continued to advance thro' the enemy's ranks,

(51) It appears that the Shyahs by the words *Holy-house*, understand the temple that contains the remains of Houssein at Kerbelah near Bagdad, whereas with the generality of Musulmen the words *holy-house*, or those of house of God, signify always the Caaba or square house within the temple of Mecca.

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which at last they broke entirely, and forced to an open flight; but by this time he had already advanced so far from his main, as to be within reach of that piece of sugar-cane where Pir-Ahmed was waiting for my father; and the latter approaching on the opposite side, he was set upon with the utmost fury, by a body of horses that rushed out suddenly, put to flight most of those that were with him, and struck a panic in those that remained. In this state of things, my father was putting his foot out of the amhary to jump down from his elephant, and to fight on foot; when the son of Cootoob-Eddin, a young man whom he had taken upon an elephant out of regard for his father, interposed, and he observed, that so long as himself, his soldier, was alive, with so many others, such exertions would be unbecoming a general. Mean while some of his relations and men, seeing their commander's danger, quitted their horses, and surrounding his elephant, they mixed with the enemy, soon covered the ground with the blood of many of them, and put the whole to a stand. Pir-Ahmed was advancing himself, and encouraging his people to push on; but Cootoob-Eddin who now was at hand, advanced to charge him: Pir-Ahmed fatigued already by the resistance he had met round my father's elephant, from that valiant troop that fought like lions accustomed to tear their enemies; and thinking himself unequal to a fresh engagement, gave way, and he retreated full of shame and confusion; whilst a zephyr of victory rising over the field of battle, unfurled the drooping standards of my father's troops, and cheered their hearts. Pir-Ahmed, however, was overcome, but not ruined; and he soon came to another engagement, but was so severely beaten, that his Afghans, humbled and dispirited, slipped away one by one, and dispersed to their homes. And thus tranquility being re-established, my father with Cootoob-Eddin-Qhan, his friend, lived happy in the middle of relations, acquaintances, and soldiers.

It was about this time, that, inspired by a desire of kissing the sacred paternal feet, I quitted Azimabad a little before Shimshir-Qhan's treason; and in the first days of Muharrum, of the year 1161, I arrived at Berhëilly, by-  
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the way of Ghazipoor and Banares, where I was favoured with the blessing of seeing the paternal face. It was about the time when the Imperial Prince Ahmed-Mirza had gained that great victory over the Abdalies, which we have sometime ago mentioned. It was at this very time that Aly-Mahmed-Qhan-Rohilah, who from being the Vizir Cammer-Eddin-Qhan's prisoner, had been by his influence set at liberty, and moreover promoted to the command of Sher-hend, thought proper to quit his post; after which he soon assembled an army of forty thousand Afghans, and marched by Soharen-poor and Gurdj-poor, across the Djumna, directly to Moorad-abad and Berhaily, those where he had once commanded with so much power; and having possessed himself of that capital, where he established his government and authority, he crossed the Ganga to attack my father. As soon as this intelligence was spread in the country, the Afghans that constituted the greatest part of my father's troops being all either countrymen or acquaintances of Ali-Mahmed-Khan's, or attached to him personally, were overjoyed to see him again amongst themselves: and pretending that they were in arrears of pay by some months, they assembled in bodies, and, probably with no good intention, surrounded the house where my father lived, within the castle of Berhaily. He had with him only about three hundred Hindostanies, from about Shah-djehan-abad, and a small number of friends, relations, and servants. By this time Aly-Mahmed-Qhan being arrived within ten coffes of Berhaily, the situation of the besieged was become critical. In this conjuncture Cootob-Eddin-Qhan took my father aside, and addressed him in these words: "*Robillah is come*

Singular character of Cootob-eddin's.

" *upon us with an army which we cannot pretend to fight, admitting even that*  
 " *he had not been joined by the Afghans of these countries, who have flocked*  
 " *to his standard in as great numbers as if they had been so many locusts or*  
 " *pismires: On the other hand, your very soldiers are now besieging you, and*  
 " *thirsting after your blood: I see then no other party left but this:—I will*  
 " *go out to meet Aly-Mahmed-Qhan-Robillah, and examine his sentiments respecting*  
 " *you: if he is not ill inclined towards you, I shall engage him to let*

" *you*

*"you extricate yourself from your actual difficulties; if I discover that he means you any ill, then I shall kill him instantly; and, as I shall be dispatched myself upon the spot, you may then manage as your fortune shall point out."*

This proposal my father accepted; and the brave and faithful Cootoob-eddin, having sallied out of the fort with a few of his most trusty men, went to Aly-Mahmed-Qhan's quarters: being arrived at that general's tent, he left his men at the door of the first enclosure, and went in with only two or three of them. Mean while those who were left without, being all extremely attached to him, and at all times ready to shed their blood for his sake, could not see him going in so weakly accompanied without being somewhat alarmed; so that two or three of them wanting to get in, were stopped by the chopdars and other people at the general's door. Cootoob-eddin hearing the noise returned back, and striking one of the chopdars slightly over the head, he asked him why he presumed to stop his people. This action having increased the tumult, some great mischief was likely to ensue, when Aly-Mahmed-Qhan, surprized at the cries and noise, ran bare-footed out of the enclosure, and taking that illustrious hero by the hand, he drew him to his breast, embraced him tenderly, and apologized for what had come to pass. After which he carried him within the tent, where he made him sit in the middle of his own mesned, himself taking a seat at the corner of it; and his behaviour in every thing else was very respectful. After interchanging the usual excuses and some customary compliments, Cootoob-eddin addressed him in these words: *"You, doubtless, have heard that I am become an intimate friend of the valiant Syed-bedaiet-aaly-Qhan, the Lion in Wars; an attachment which he has been pleased to repay with every mark of kindness and love. You know, likewise, that his very soldiers, enticed by the hopes of your coming, have ungratefully turned their arms against their lord and master, and are now thinking of mischief. If such is your intention also, dismiss me, that I may return and lay down my life in my friend's cause, and by my zeal and fidelity prepare for myself a durable monument in the registers of posterity:—march on with your troops, join those ungrateful wretches, and*

*“ by falling together upon that handful of besieged folks, acquire the glory of  
 “ having killed a Sēyd: else, if you be an open-hearted soldier, and you intend  
 “ no mischief, then assist the man with some necessaries for his voyage to the ca-  
 “ pital; repress the seditious, use your influence to make them accept as much as  
 “ the ready money and effects in the castle can afford; and let him quit this coun-  
 “ try with safety to his person, and some honour to his character.”* This  
 speech had its full effect: Robillah, with the most solemn oaths, protested  
 that he intended no personal injury; and, sending for the officers of his  
 household, he directed them to prepare an equipage suitable to the gover-  
 nor's rank and condition; after which he dismissed his guest with every  
 demonstration of honour, sending him back fully satisfied and con-  
 tented: he only required that Cootcob-eddin should not go to Shah-  
 Djehanabad, where he was apprehensive lest the forlorn state of so illuf-  
 trious a man might engage the ministers to reinstate him at the head of  
 an army in his father's government. My father, the next day after this  
 treaty, came out of the castle with all his people, and took up his quarters  
 at Pandj-mahla, a building at some distance without the walls of Berhēily,  
 where he spent some days in much altercation about settling the respective  
 claims of the seditious; and he was every day in the hope of being soon able  
 to get out of their hands. At last by the divine assistance this point was  
 gained, and he arrived at the capital.

About the middle way, as we had passed Ferohabad, we heard at once  
 a multitude of news: that Mahmed-Shah had departed this life; that his  
 son Ahmed-Mirza had returned, after having gained an important victory;  
 that the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan had been slain; that Mir-Mannoo, his  
 son, had been promoted to the two Viceroyalties Lahor and Mooltan; and  
 lastly, that Abool-Mansoor-Qhan had installed Ahmed-Mirza in the im-  
 perial throne at the seat of Shahleh-Mar. Nevertheless the death of Mah-  
 med-Shah had made such an impression in the country, that the roads  
 were swarming with robbers and banditties, that did their business by  
 troops; so that it became necessary to march with great precaution, and to be  
 continually

continually upon the watch. My father being arrived at Shah-Djehana-bad, waited upon Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, son to Nizam-el-Mulk, in whose Djaghir was Berhëily and its districts; but finding that he had but little inclination to provide for such a loss, he turned his views towards Abool-Manfoor-Qhan. That general, who heard of his intention, sent him Radja Maha-Naraïn, son of his Divan, and did him the honor to invite him to his palace, where he repaired with the Radja, and where he payed his respects to that general, now Vizir of the Empire: an interview of which I availed myself to make my bow to that prime minister, and to exchange a few words with him. In a few days he was pleased to bestow on my father the command over Pani-poot, Son-poot, and the Thirteen Districts under the immediate management of the Qhalissah office; after which he got him decorated by the Emperor with the grade of five thousand horses, and with the insignia of a kettle-drum and a fringed paleky. This appointment, being so strictly connected with the Qhalissah office, at the head of which was Issac-Qhan, afforded a fair opportunity of making a connection with that great Lord himself; by whose means he obtained for Cootoob-eddin-Mahmed-Qhan, his valuable friend, the fodjdaries of Hyflar and Djudjar; and he therefore invited over that invaluable pearl of the seas of prowess, Generosity and fidelity. But that hero, who had his heart full against the Afghans and Rohilas, and who held them, to be so many usurpers that had deprived him of the post of Mooradabad, an office which was hereditary in his family from the time of Feroh-Syur, and which was thought in every sense equal to a Viceroyalty, declined the appointment; having then other designs in his mind: Mooradabad, the place of his birth, was what he wanted, and all his thoughts were bent on driving the Rohilabs from thence, and on regaining that hereditary government. This could not be attained in the Vizir Camer-eddin-Qhan's life-time, who was evidently Aly-Mahmed-Qhan protector; but now circumstances had become more favourable; for Aly-Mahmed-Qhan, who had come back with an army in those countries, and had conquered Mooradabad and all the districts that had once been in his power,

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was sometime since dead of a cancer: His conquests had been divided and parcelled out by his relations, for instance, by his father-in-law Doondy-Qhan, by Hafyz-Ahmed, and one of his sons, and by several other chieftains, who under pretence of securing the estate for his sons-in-law, had taken possession of it for themselves; infomuch that when the real heirs came to ask their right, they were only allowed some districts sufficient for their maintainance, but were kept out of the estate by a strong grasp. In process of time, the usurpers became masters of extensive dominions and saw themselves lords of armies, as well as sovereigns of a court.

It was such dissensions that engaged Cootoob-Eddin's attention:—he concluded that this was the time to fall upon the Rohillahs and to drive them from Meerad-abad and their other recent conquests; and he applied to Intyzam-Edd38lah, son to Camer-Eddin-Qhan, for the patent of the fodydary of those parts: a request which was complied with the more willingly, as those countries had ceased to acknowledge any subordination to the capital. Cootoob-Eddin then having his hands full of this project, had some reason to excuse himself from accepting my father's proffers; and he remained at the capital to push his point with the minister: the latter gave him, without delay, the patents he requested, but went no further; and he had the stinginess to assist him but feebly towards putting himself in equipage, and assembling an army with the necessaries for such an expedition. But such was the high opinion entertained of Cootoob-Eddin's prowess and conduct, that he found private purses that assisted him with the sums of money which his expedition required. The same renown that procured him money procured him an army, still more than the minister's exhortations: vast numbers of people, accustomed to a camp life, flocked in shoals to his standard, desirous to serve under the Hercules of his age, and soon formed him something like a court and something like an army. Notwithstanding these reinforcements, he tarried a while for a body of three-hundred men that had been his war companions, and whose bravery and attachment he had always expected; and it was with such a small force, and such a handful of bra-

voes,



voes, that he undertook to dispossess a nation of fresh conquerors, that could muster more than fifty-thousand men in the field, and had plenty of money, canon, rockets, and ammunition; when he saw himself at the head of a force which he thought sufficient for his purpose, he came out of the city and encamped in the environs, resolved to compass his purpose or to perish in the attempt. The Afghans having got intelligence of this, assembled from all parts, and joined together at Moorad-abad. But on his drawing near, and even on his setting out from the capital, they sent him several messages, offering to come to an accommodation, under condition that he would give up all pretensions to Moorad-abad: their proposals were, to come in for a share of the country, on the same footing with themselves, in which case they would be glad to assign him a portion suitable to his rank and pretensions, as they were desirous to see him come and enjoy the products of that country, and live happy and quiet as they did themselves. But Cootob-Eddin was too high spirited to stoop to such an agreement; and resolved to have the whole or nothing: he advanced on them at the head of his force. The Afghans intimidated by so much obstinacy, commenced despairing of their cause, although they were so far superior to him in numbers and in every thing necessary for war and battle. For they were impressed with the highest opinion of the prowess and conduct of that Lion accustomed to tear his enemies. Cootob-Eddin, still advancing, was soon in sight of his foes, and an engagement took place; when that hero alighting from his horse, put himself at the head of his three hundred braves, and did so much execution, that the Afghans were pushed back as far as two or three cosses. But he was now come into a spot full of broken ground, where their dispersed troops, observing how ill their enemy was accompanied, and how he was far from his main, commenced firing under a variety of covers, and little by little they destroyed that formidable troop, which was now reduced to twenty or thirty men, mostly wounded; but which stuck close to their heroic commander. This latter had already received several wounds; and now being aimed at on all sides like a mark, several

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bullets

bullets were lodged in his breast, and he at last fell, after having performed in that trying day a number of memorable actions. About one hundred of his bravoës fell round his body, mixed their blood with his own, and afforded an everlasting topic to the encomiums and regrets of both their friends and enemies; ten or twelve men of that heroic troop having survived this scene of blood and slaughter, were taken up from the field of battle, and cured of their wounds; but it was only to become so many objects of envy and jealousy amongst military men, who all envied their fate. O God! vouchsafe to forgive their sins, and accept them in the day of judgment amongst the martyrs and the just!

We have already mentioned that the Imperial Prince, Ahmed-Mirza, after his victory, had come to Shalch-mar, where he was saluted Emperor by Mahomed-Iffac-Qhan the Minister, and by Djavid-Qhan, the eunuch, as well as by all the grandees of the city; with whom he made his entry in the capital, and at last in the Imperial palace. The new Emperor had offered the Vizirship to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan; but that general, although so very worthy of that high office, did not chuse to meddle with it during Nizam-el-Mulk's life, so high an opinion he had conceived of his wisdom and power: letters and messages went to him in Decan both from the Emperor and from his ministers. Nizam-el-Mulk, already on the wing for the regions of eternity, answered by excusing himself on his old age, his inability to make voyages, and his disinclination from meddling with the affairs of the capital: He even wrote to Abool-Manfoor-Qhan, to exhort him to assume that high office, and he ended his letter with these words: "*You are now the most promising of the children of these days. Take that office upon yourself, and exert yourself in recovering the affairs of the Empire and bringing them to some order.*" This letter had its effect on Abool-Manfoor-Qhan; but such was the high respect he bore to the very name of Nizam-el-Mulk, that he declined assuming the office in that Viceroy's life-time, who, however, lived but a few days after the above letter; so that on hearing that he had set out for the other world in the territory of B8rhanpoor, from whence his body had been carried

carried to Döulet-abad, in which city it had been buried without the fortress in a garden, close to Shah-Burhan-eddin, he gave his consent; and conscious of adequate abilities, he went to the Palace, where he was installed in that high office by a Qhylaat of seven pieces, to which were added four plates full of gems and jewels: so soon as he had put it on, he was saluted in full Derbar by the titles of "Principal of the Kingdom,—Center of all "Business,—Hero of the Age,—Trust-worthy of all the Provinces of the "Empire,—The Father of Victory,—The Hercules in Battles,—and The "Generalissimo of the Imperial Forces."

BUT, as we have just been mentioning Nizam-el-Mulk's demise, it is proper that we should leave for a while the thread of our Narrative, in order to say something about the characters and private life of that famous man, as well as of three more illustrious personages, who seemed to have concerted together their voyage for eternity, after having acted the most important parts on the theatre of this world: these were, Emir-Qhan, Camer-eddin-Qhan, and Mahmed-Shah. After that, we shall, if it pleases God, the Author of all favors, revert to our history, and recount such remarkable events as have distinguished Ahmed-Shah's reign, and Abööl-Manfoor-Qhan's ministry (52).

UMDET-UL-MULK-EMIR-QHAN BAHADYR, governor of Ilah-abad, was son of another Umdet-ul-Mulk-Emir-Qhan, Bahadyr, governor of Caböl: his ancestor in remote times was an illustrious man, an Hussaini-an-Seyd, of the branch of Naamet-ollah, whose family in process of time came to be called the Mir-Miranians, from a descendant of his who received that surname. This family is so very illustrious, even in Iran, that it needs

(52) The word *Qhan* is always the first title of honor conferred upon a man; it signifies a Prince or a mighty Lord; and answers to the English word *Esquire*, a word without consequence, doubtless; for the translator himself is a *Qhan* in Hindostany, and an *Esquire* in English. Umdet-ul-Mulk, signifies both the greatest of the Kingdom, and a column of the Kingdom. There are two branches of Seyds, the one descended from Hassan, and the other from Hussein, both sons of Aly, cousin to Mohammed, and of Fatemah his daughter. Hussein is the idol of Persians; and were his father to return into the world, he would be jealous of the figure his son cuts; for as to the grand-father, he is nearly out of question, when compared to those two. Mir-Mirani, the Lord of Lords: It signifies in Persia, a Governor-General, or Supreme,



neither encomiums nor writing. One of these Mil-Mianians, grand-father to our Emir-Qhan, on some misdemeanor or some other subject, quitted the court of Isfahan without taking leave from Shah-Abbas, the Hero of Iran, and fled to Hindostan, where he was so well received by the Emperor Djehanghir, son to Soltan-Acbar, that he soon became a favorite with him; living in his court in the utmost splendor. His prosperity however was constantly embittered by the thoughts of being parted from two beloved sons, whom he had been obliged to leave in Iran; and he often declared that he would revive and seem to commence a new life, as soon as he could behold them once more. His sorrow was so continual and so affecting, that amongst the several articles of instruction given to Qhan-Aalem, whom that Emperor sent in Ambassy to the court of Iran, the requesting and obtaining those two beloved children, was a considerable one. The ambassador rendered himself so agreeable to Shah-Abbas, that he obtained all his requests, and these two sons amongst the rest; on their arrival at the court of Hindostan, they were honoured with the title of Qhan, and promoted to the highest offices; Qhalil-ollah-Qhan, the eldest, rose to considerable dignities, and from that time the family never ceased to move in the highest sphere of honours, employs, and offices. Emir-Qhan's uncle was Pay-master-general to Äoreng-Zib, the conqueror (53), and a great favourite of his: his father died Viceroy of the important government of Cabool; and so satisfied was Äoreng-zib with that Governor's abilities and talents for government and for war, that so long as he knew him in that important post, he never expressed any apprehensions from the enterprising genius of the Monarchs of Iran; so that being thus left at liberty to pursue his designs in Decan, he made it a point to ascribe publicly to him every one of his conquests and victories; and he used to express himself in that style in the many letters which he wrote to the Governor. Our Emir-Qhan, son of that Viceroy, arrived by his merits and abilities at so much power and influence, and he seemed to deserve them so well, that no one of the grandees of the Empire could be compared to him: he seemed a compendium

(53) Aalem-ghir.

of every valuable qualification: he was besides so learned that few men could pretend to enter the lists with him. His prowess and military abilities could be compared to nothing but the keenness of his penetration, and to the clearness of his comprehension, which gave him at once, as if by intuition, so comprehensive a view of every affair, either public or private, that was brought before him, that the very suitors thought themselves happy to be eased of so great a part of their trouble. He delighted in the company of all sorts of men of merit, whether they were soldiers of a determined valour, men of talents, or men venerable by their learning; every species of talents attracted his notice: eminent singers, eminent dancers, and in general all kinds of eminent men, especially in composition and poetry.—Whoever had been once in his company, could not part with him; and I have seen people fall so far in love with his conversation and character, that long after his death, no man of eminence ever pronounced his name or reported any thing of him, or made his eulogium, without shedding a flood of tears. The numbers of men of merit introduced by him into the world is not small; and numbers there are to-day whom he has raised from penury and distress to affluence, dignities, and power; numbers whom he enlisted amongst the Lords of the Empire, and the grandees of the state. He composed with great elegance and much facility, both in Persian and Hindostany poetry, often uttering extempore verses: but no man ever equalled him in the talent of saying bon mots, and in rejoining by a repartee. He possessed the art of narration in such a high degree, that people charmed with his story kept it hanging at their ears as a fragrant flower, whose perfume they wished to enjoy for ever. On the other hand, his generosity was such that when he had once allowed a pension to some one high or low, he never recalled it; but continued it to the person, altho' the occasion and necessity should have ceased long ago. Ingeniously delicate, every thing about his person or in his palace received from his directions such an elegance of form, that from that moment it was taken up as a pattern by all men of taste, and

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thenceforward



neither encomiums nor came the fair court, and the standard of elegance  
 to our Emir-Qhan, and furniture (54).  
 court of Isfahan with it us to say much of Camer-eddin-Qhan, not-  
 and fled to Hindostan, Prime Minister of State; and bore the titles of "The  
 ghir, son to Soltan-Ach Empire, and The Victorious in War." He was son  
 in his court in the utmost har, who had cut so great a figure in the begining of  
 embittered by the thought, and drew his pedigree from Qhadja-Ehrar. Mahmed  
 been obliged to leave Tooran (55), his native country, and came into Hindostan  
 in them to commence queror's time; where he rose by degrees to the military  
 grad sorrow was for horses: in process of time he rose to the grade of se-  
 ven of instruct, is happened in Ferozh-Syür's reign chiefly through the  
 coun, which you received from the famous Abdollah-Khan; which however  
 did not prevent him from joining in the conspiracy for murdering Hussein-  
 ally-Qhan, brother to his benefactor. He was promoted to the Vizir-ship in  
 the beginning of Mahmed-Shah's reign, but enjoyed that office but a few  
 months, having been seized by the Claws of Death, that universal Tyrant  
 who mows down indiscriminately the minister with the beggar. Camer-eddin-  
 Qhan, his son, enjoyed in his father's life time the office of third Pay-ma-  
 ster general (56), and of superintendant of the bathing-place or private ap-  
 partments; and he was promoted to the Vizir-ship after Nizam-el-Mulk's  
 departure for Decan, in which high office he exhibited no great talents for  
 government; being slothful, inattentive, indolent, and eternally immersed

(54) There is a whole book of the remarkable sayings of Emir-Qhan; and we have already mentioned two of these: there is another which shews the readiness of his wit: Mehreban-Qhan, a Lord whose disgrace he had procured, being in Mahmed-Shah's company, complained bitterly of an affray in which the cart-men had beaten his people. I know not how it happens, added he, but all those whose names or callings end by a *Ban* prove all faithless, all ungrateful, all unruly and quarrelsome. *Guriban*, Cart-man; *Sur-ban*, Camel-driver; *Goo-er-ban*, Toll-man; &c. &c. True, *My lord Mehre-ban*, interrupted Emir-Qhan, whose cart-men had headed the affray; what you say is nothing but true: I have experienced it this long while; and I am glad that you are become sensible of it at last.

(55) What they call Great-Tartary and *Siberia* in Europe, is called *Tooran*, all over Asia; but *Euzbeg* Tartary or *Turkistan* is more properly understood by that name in Hindostan.

(56) We have already observed that the Pay-master-General is always a military man, and some thing like a Major-General.

in all kinds of pleasures (57); but he was so offensive, and feared that few men to oppression, that the people of the capital remember him and military ability to this very day; he was a magnificent friend, and a beautiful penetration, and a weak Vizir, wanting firmness and activity. He lived in ease, as if by intuitionmost grandeur and magnificence, denying himself no kind of pleasure, that was passing his time in tasting of every one of them successfully. He himself was happy to be have said, a month and some days before his master Mahomet died in the company

This Prince who was son to Djehan-Shah-Qhojista-Ali, and a determined soldier of a determined to Bahadur-Shah, and great-grand-son to Aorengzib-Alam, was a man of great learning; every neither genius nor abilities; but he was so very good-natured, and a natural dancer, and in respect he exceeded the measure proper in the character of a ruler. He was a man of great respect. Naturally of a passive temper, and wanting firmness, with his wife he was apt to be led by his servants; and he became dependent on his ministers in such a manner, as to become as indolent as themselves, and as incapable to recover the empire from that state of debility in which it fell under Ferozh-Syür. Young and handsome, and fond of all kinds of pleasures, he addicted himself to an inactive life, which entirely enervated the energy of the Empire. This inactivity of temper became still more conspicuous after Nadyr-Shah had ruined his capital, and restored him his crown; the fire of his youth and the turbulence of his passions having then subsided, his genius subsided likewise: he studied his repose above all things, and so as to become averse to business. About the end of his reign, he seemed to have taken a liking to the conversation and company of fakirs and religious men; and he condescended so far as to listen to a representation from them with the best grace in the world. Being naturally averse from blood and violence, his subjects under his reign enjoyed much rest and prosperity. It may be said with truth, that under his reign the government was still respected, the honour of the empire supported, and the Majesty of the

(57) He had a Seraglio of five thousand women, which being dressed by regiments in gold or silver tissues at such a particular day, were let loose in a park or garden, where he used to gallop up and down after them mounted upon a nag. But he had besides another Seraglio, in the style of that kept by Trajan; and this was of no less than fifteen hundred persons, as handsome as could be found throughout the Empire.

throne,

throne, kept alive and standing: for after his demise every thing went to wreck; and he may be considered the seal and last of the Emperors of the House of Babr. A little time after his demise the words Empire and Emperor became only empty sounds and mere names, that conveyed no distinct meaning.

THE principal of those who contributed to all that decay, was Nizam-el-Mulk, who was styled the wise minister (58); he was son to Ghazi-Eddin-Qhan-Bahadyr, and grand-son to Abed-Qhan: his own name was Camer-Eddin, and he descended from Sheh-Sheabedin. His maternal grand-father, Saad-ollah-Qhan, was supreme Vizir to the Emperor Shah Djehan; but his paternal grand-father, Abed-Qhan, was one of the most venerable magistrates of Samarcand, and in process of time he came into Hindostan in that Emperor's life-time, and happened in Feroz's service of the Imperial Prince Aoreng-zib; who on his return from the famous throne, raised him to the grade of five thousand horses, and from joining promoted him to the office Sadr-el-Soodoor (60). Being another time of Gol-conda (61), with that Prince, he was struck by a musket-ball, and fell at once both from the plafrey of fortune, and the horse of his existence. His son, Shehab-Eddin, came to be one of the Lords and Grandees of Aoreng-zib's court; and rose by degrees to the grade of seven thousand horses, and to the title of "Victorious in War;" serving as a Principal General in his armies. At the taking of Bidjapoor, he was decorated with other titles of honor. After his master's demise, we find him governor of G8djr4t, under Bahadyr-Shah. He died in the year 1152; and left a son called Camer-eddin-Qhan, alias Nizam-el-Mulk; who in Aoreng-zib's reign was honoured with the surname of "The Sabre-drawing-Lord (62)," and the grade of five thousand horses. At the end of that Prince's reign, he was governor of Bidja-

(58) Asef-djah, he that sits in Asef's stead, which Asef was Solomon's Vizir.

(59) Samar-cand, the Maracanda of Quint-Curtius, is now a great city of Eusbeigh-Tartary.

(60) Sadr-el-Soodoor, Bishop of Bishops, or great Almoner.

(61) Gol-conda was once the Gentoo name of Bagnagar now Haiderabad. It is still the name of a very large Fortrefs at four cosses from thence. *Feroz-Djung* is translated in English *Victorious in War*;

(62) Chin-Kylydj-Qhan are the text of the words *Sword-drawing Lord*. They are Turkish, the original language of all that family.

poor (63). In the beginning of Behadyr-Shah's reign, he was governor of A8d, with the title of "Lord of the <sup>33</sup>" (64). A little after, we find him disgusted at the absolute authority assumed by the Vizir, Affed-Qhan, or his son, the generalissimo Zulf-Qhan; and resigning both his government and title, to take up the garb of a fakir, and to lead a retired life. At the beginning of the reign of Muz-zeddin-Djehandar-Shah, he was requested to re-assume his grade and title, and to appear again at Court. On the first year of Ferozh-Syur's reign, he was decorated with the titles of "Composer of the Kingdom" (65), and "Victorious in Wars"; promoted to the grade of five thousand horse, and appointed to the Viceroyalty of Decan. But some time after, the character of his office having been bestowed on Hufseïn-aaly-Qhan, the former wanting firmness, Abdollah-Qhan, Nizam-el-Mulk returned to Court; where, as themselves, an equal to recall, he received the great Fodjdary of Moora, as themselves, an equal to a Viceroyalty. Under the young Emperor, Refy-<sup>er</sup>, in which it was, by Abdollah-Qhan's recommendation, promoted to the government, plea. But that did not prevent his falling out with him, as well as with the Vice-roy, his brother: for in the beginning of Mahmed-Shah's reign, he gave them the slip, and went into Decan; where he at once possessed himself of some of the provinces that go by that name; and, in process of time, of all the six and a half of the governments that compose that part of the Empire. On Mahmed-amin-Qhan's demise, he was promoted to the office of Vizir, which he held but a short time: being dissatisfied with the grantees of the Court, and likewise with the Emperor himself, whose sentiments seemed altered, he quitted the Court, and retired to his government of Decan, with which he lived satisfied. Still he was recalled to Court, and on Qhan-dö8ran's death was decorated with the title of "Lord of Lords" (66), then vacant: but hearing at the same time that his second son,

(63) Bidja-poor is the same as the Vizapoor, or, more properly, of the Vizia-poor of our charts.

(64) Qhan-dö8ran.

(65) Nizam-el-Mulk, Nassyr-djung.

(66) Emir-ul-Umera.



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T H E S E I R  
throne, kept alive and standing: for after his demise every thing went to wreck; and he may be considered the seal and last of the Emperors of the House of Babr. A little time after his demise the words Empire and Emperor became only empty sounds and mere names, that conveyed no distinct meaning.

THE principal of those who contributed to all that decay, was Nizam-el-Mulk, who was styled the wise minister (58); he was son to Ghazi-Eddin-Qhan-Bahadyr, and grand-son to Abed-Qhan: his own name was Camer-Eddin, and he descended from Sheh-Sheabedin. His maternal grand-father, Saad-ollah-Qhan, was supreme Vizir to the Emperor Shah Djehan; but his paternal grand-father, Abed-Qhan, was one of the most venerable magistrates of Samarcand, in process of time he came into Hindostan in that Emperor's life-time, and happened in Feroz's service of the Imperial Prince Aoreng-zib; who on his return from the famous throne, raised him to the grade of five thousand horse, and from joining promoted him to the office Sadr-el-Soodoor (60). Being another rage of Golconda (61), with that Prince, he was struck by a musket-ball, and fell at once both from the plafrey of fortune, and the horse of existence. His son, Shehab-Eddin, came to be one of the Lords and Grandees of Aoreng-zib's court; and rose by degrees to the grade of seven thousand horses, and to the title of "Victorious in War;" serving as a Principal General in his armies. At the taking of Bidjapoor, he was decorated with other titles of honor. After his master's demise, we find him governor of G8djratt, under Bahadyr-Shah. He died in the year 1152; and left a son called Camer-eddin-Qhan, alias Nizam-el-Mulk; who in Aoreng-zib's reign was honoured with the surname of "The Sabre-drawing-Lord (62)," and the grade of five thousand horses. At the end of that Prince's reign, he was governor of Bidja-

(58) Afef-djah, he that sits in Afef's stead, which Afef was Solomon's Vizir.

(59) Samar-cand, the Maracanda of Quint-Curtius, is now a great city of Eusbegh-Tartary.

(60) Sadr-el-Soodoor, Bishop of Bishops, or great Almoner.

(61) Golconda was once the Gentoo name of Bagnagar now Haiderabad. It is still the name of a very large Fortrefs at four cosses from thence. *Feroz-Djung* is translated in English *Victorious in War*;

(62) Chin-Kylydj-Qhan are the text of the words *Sword-drawing Lord*. They are Turkish, the original language of all that family.

poor,



poor (63). In the beginning of Behadyr-Shah's reign, he was governor of A8d, with the title of "Lord of the <sup>33</sup>" (64). A little after, we find him disgusted at the absolute authority assumed by the Vizir, Affed-Qhan, or his son, the generalissimo Zul-Qhan; and resigning both his government and title, to take up the <sup>33</sup> of a fakir, and to lead a retired life. At the beginning of the reign of Muz-zeddin-Djehandar-Shah, he was requested to re-assume his grade and title, and to appear again at Court. On the first year of Ferozh-Syur's reign, he was decorated with the titles of "Composer of the Kingdom" (65), and "Victorious in Wars"; promoted to the grade of five thousand horse, and appointed to the Viceroyalty of Decan. But some time after, the character of that office having been bestowed on Hufseïn-aaly-Qhan, the former wanting firmness, Abdollah-Qhan, Nizam-el-Mulk returned to Court; where, as themselves, an equal to recall, he received the great Fodjdary of Moora, as themselves, an equal to a Viceroyalty. Under the young Emperor, Refy-<sup>33</sup> in which it was, by Abdollah-Qhan's recommendation, promoted to the government, plea. But that did not prevent his falling out with him, as well as with the Vice-roy, his brother: for in the beginning of Mahmed-Shah's reign, he gave them the slip, and went into Decan; where he at once possessed himself of some of the provinces that go by that name; and, in process of time, of all the six and a half of the governments that compose that part of the Empire. On Mahmed-amin-Qhan's demise, he was promoted to the office of Vizir, which he held but a short time: being dissatisfied with the grantees of the Court, and likewise with the Emperor himself, whose sentiments seemed altered, he quitted the Court, and retired to his government of Decan, with which he lived satisfied. Still he was recalled to Court, and on Qhan-dö3ran's death was decorated with the title of "Lord of Lords" (66), then vacant: but hearing at the same time that his second son,

(63) Bidja-poor is the same as the Vizapoor, or, more properly, of the Vizia-poor of our charts.

(64) Qhan-dö3ran.

(65) Nizam-el-Mulk, Nassyr-djung.

(66) Emir-ul-Umera.

Naffyr-Djung, whom he had appointed Deputy in Decan, had become rebellious, he resigned his office of "Lord of Lords", in behalf of his eldest son, Ghazi-eddin-Qhan, and returned again to Decan, as we have already mentioned in the First Volume, and likewise in this Volume. Nor is that Decan to be thought of slightly: it contains the aggregate dominions of several ancient kings, and it is in such an extensive tract that he governed with an absolute authority for the space of seven and thirty years. His character was so highly respected, amongst all the lords and grandees of Mah-med-Shah's court, although some of them were of equal dignity, that they never wrote or spoke to him, but as to their superior, and never demeaned themselves in his presence but with deference and submission.

COVETOUSNESS and ambition seemed to be the basis of his character; but if we can pass over that, we shall find him endowed with a number of excellent qualities: he was a man of eminent merit, who filled a very exalted station that equalled him to the greatest Kings, with all the talents and all the sublime qualifications which his situation required. His palace was at all times open to the poor, the needy, and the aged, as well as to the learned, and the deserving: in one word, to all that had any suit to prefer. To all these he ever paid a strict attention, being careful to relieve their wants. His character for distinguishing merit, and for rewarding it to its full extent, was so universally spread, that men of parts, and also people of all sorts, flocked to his court from all the neighbouring countries; from Arabia, and from Mavera-al-Nahr (67); from Qhorasan, from Harac, and from R8m: and all were sure to advance their fortunes in his service. Fond of public works, he finished the walls of the city of B8rhânp8r, which he had commenced in the year 1141; and he re-peopled the city of Feridap8r which he found ruined, and to which he gave the name of Nizamabad, building in it mosques, and Karavan-Seras, as well as a palace and a bridge. He likewise raised walls round the city of Haiderabad, and built a

(67) Mavera-al-Nahr, is Arabic, and signifies the country on the other side the water, the Trans-oxana of the ancients. Qhorasan is one of the six grand divisions of Iran and Persia, as is Harac, or Hircania, another division. R8m is the Roman country, or the Turkish Empire.

superb Mosque at Aorengabad: the canal that runs through the middle of that city, is a work of his. Afford repose,—O Lord of mercy and forgiveness, to such servants of your's! He was a man of great equality of temper, and a learned one, fond of uttering extempore verses; and there is a Poem and a volume of poetry of his, actually extant. He departed his life thirty-seven days after Mahmed-Shah's demise, and it was the fourth of the second Djemady, in the year 1161 of the Hedjrah. Mir-gh8lam-aaly, the Poet of Belgram, has comprehended in six words the chronogram of those three illustrious men deceased at the same time: It is in an enigmatic stile.

“ Past are they all three, whilst I am sobbing and saying, ah! for one.  
“ Gone are the king, the Vizir and Affef-Djah.”

But he has spoken in a more open manner in the following verses:

“ Fallen are, ah! the three columns of this Empire;

“ Disappeared are they from this world, as three precious pearls from an unlucky hand.

“ I have comprehended these three invaluable losses in this single verse:

“ Gone is the King, the Vizir, and the Affef of this age,”

After complimenting our readers with that digression on those eminent personages, we shall return now to the thread of our history. The Emperor and his Vizir being now satisfied as to Nizam-el-Mulk's intentions, the dignity of Lord of Lords, with the office of First pay-master, was bestowed on Sadat-Qhan, son to another Sadat-Qhan, who lived under Feroh-Syur; and in the fourteenth of Redjeb of the same year, the Vizir Ab8l-Man-88r-Qhan went to court, where he was received with the utmost distinction, and complimented with a sabre and a poniard of jewell-work, with a variety of other jewells, and with a Qhylaat of seven pieces. He was at the same time installed with a rich belt in the government of Acbar-abad-agrah. The command of the Ahedian guards was at the same time bestowed on Ahmed-aaly-Qhan, son to his sister; and as Issaac-Qhan's sister had of late been married to Shudjah-edd88lah, son to the Vizir, this alliance raised that popular nobleman's power to the utmost pitch; and he soon succeeded his father the late Issac-Qhan in the Divanship of the Qhalissah.—

But

But a man who suddenly came to cut a great figure at Court, was Djavid-Qhan. This eunuch who had from a long time intimate connections with 8dem-bay (68), mother to the reigning Emperor, became so great a favorite with that prince also, that he fancied himself a minister of state, and indeed soon came to act as such, through the insinuations of that Princess on the mind of the weak prince, her son. As he was an ancient slave of the Imperial household, in high favor with the late Emperor, and in consequence of his connections with the Empress's mother, possessed a perfect knowledge of every thing within both the sanctuary and the palace; he was thought the fittest person for the office of Nazyr, an important charge that gives an absolute controul within the Seraglio, and was vacant since R8z-Afz8n-Qhan's decease. In this manner he came to be master of the Emperor's private hours. That prince, who in conformity to his maternal origin was in fact full of levity, and carried a head without brains, soon came to follow the example set him by that man: he fell into a course of crapulence, and debauch; and he abandoned the helm entirely to him: so that the latter who was now decorated with the title of Navab-Bahadyr, or the valiant deputy, commenced meddling in every matter of State; and at last came to have his opinion abided by, as a matter of necessary form. Such an authority in an eunuch was more than the high spirit of Ab8l-Man8r-Qhan could bear; and as the other made no secret of his influence, every day furnished new matter of discontent, and incessantly afforded fresh fuel to that fire, which in a little time blazed out in a flame. About this time\* the office of Second pay-master, with the sodjary of Moorad-abad, was bestowed on Intyzam-eddö8lah one of Camer-eddin-Qhan's sons; and a few days after a Qhylaät of mourning was given to Ghazy-eddin-Qhan, on the demise of his father Nizam-el-Mulk; it was Djavid-Qhan who put an end to his mourning, and brought him to court. On the seventeenth of Redjeb, the charge of Comptroller of the Qhalissah office, together with a military

(68) The words Bay, P8ri, Coar, &c. added to a woman's name, always attest her to be or to have been a dance-woman; that is, not a prostitute, but a Courtesan; a sort of women admitted in all companies in Hindoostan, and treated with demonstrations of regard and honor.

augmentation



augmentation of a thousand horses to his grade, was bestowed on Asker-aly-Qhan; and a few days after the government of the province of Adjmir was presented to the Vizir. About this time, being in Shaaban, Haddy-ally-Qhan that illustrious proselite of a new sect, departed this life, and was entombed near Shah-Nom8d, his director's monument. Terbiyet-Qhan likewise died in this month; nor did this year produce any more important events. But now the scene will become more interesting.

WE have already mentioned that Aly-Mahmed-Qhan Rohilah, had returned with an army to the country of M8radadad, &c. and after having taken possession of it, expelled my father, the Imperial governor; soon after which he died of a cancer, that had spread all over his back. This event was seized upon by the Vizir Ab8l-Mans8r-Qhan, who had been taking this long while much umbrage at the establishment which those warlike people had made on the frontiers of his government of A8d: he had already engaged Mahmed-Shah on an expedition intended to extirpate them, but which did not produce its full effect, his plan having been counteracted by Camer-ed-din-Qhan's management and double dealing. An opportunity offered now to resume his scheme: he was himself become Vizir, and director of all the affairs of the Empire: Aly-Mahmed-Qhan Rohillah had just crossed over to the valley of Nothingness; and divisions had arisen in the family of that new founder. With this view, he engaged Cäim-Qhan, son to Mahmed-Qhan-Bangash, to recover that whole country from the hands of Rohilah's family, sensible that the defeat and ruin of either party would prove of so much gain to himself. Cäim-Qhan, who had already cast a wishful eye on the private and public estate of Rohilah's family, besieged his children in the castle of Budäon, and streightened them so far as to prevent their having any communication with any one without. These were Saad-ollah-Qhan, eldest son of Rohilah, a young prince, who had married Hafiz-Rahmet's daughter, and being reputed his father's representative, actually sat on his mesned: But the other was Dondi-Qhan's son-in-law: and both these chieftains having taken possession of the coun-  
try

Death of Ally-  
Mahmed Rohil-  
la.

The Vizir fo-  
ments the trou-  
bles which fol-  
low.



try in right of their sons-in-law, had in fact kept it for themselves; although the civil-government was still in the hands of Saad-ollah-Qhan. The latter who was shut up with his whole family, and that of his father, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, and straitened by an enemy that would not relent, at once took his party: he came out of the castle, and having assembled some troops, he resolved to risk every thing in defence of his life and fortune: this happened in the tenth of Zilhidj, in the year 1161. Dividing, therefore, his troops into two parts, he concealed one in the bed of a river which had become dry, and advanced with the other against Cäim-Qhan. The battle having already commenced and become very warm, Saad-ollah-Qhan, unable to bear the attack of the whole Afghan nation, which fought under Cäim-Khan's orders, was obliged to retreat; and at last he fled full speed: but still he turned about now and then, and charged his pursuers; at last, he came to the ambuscade. Cäim-Qhan, in the full hope of victory, was pursuing with ardour, followed by almost all the commanders of his army, when at once some thousands of Saad-aalah Qhan's people, who were concealed in the dry bed, got up, and let fly such a shower of balls and rockets, that Cäim-Qhan himself, with all his commanders were killed on the spot, together with a vast number of his soldiers; thus leaving a complete victory to Saad-ollah-Qhan.

WHILE the Afghans were involved in civil wars, the Court seemed busy in promotions and rejoicings. The Nö8-r8z was celebrated on a Friday, the second of the second Reby; and a few days after Mirza-Muhfen, elder brother to the Vizir-Ab81-Man8r-Qhan, departed this life. About the end of the same year Aaly-amjed-Qhan was honoured with a fringed Pa-leky; but two months after, as he was at his day-break devotions, and reciting prayers for mercy and health upon his beads of clay (69), he suddenly fell

(69) The Persians and all the Shi'as, who pay an idolatrous worship to every thing that relates to Hossein, never make use of any other beads but those made of the clay of Kerbelah, where he is interred. This clay is dyed of a yellow green and baked; they suppose it to be always of the soil taken from that Mosque. Was this the case in fact, the Mosque would have tumbled down long ago. Those beads are made of the soil of the territory

fell down and expired. This appearance of tranquillity at the capital soon gave way to troubles of a most alarming nature.

We may remember that Mir-Mannoo, the late Vizir's eldest son, had been appointed to the double government of Lahor and Mooltan by Mahomed-Shah himself: to support so great a burthen, he had taken Begari-Qhan as his deputy, and had allowed him an absolute authority. The new Viceroy had just taken possession of that important post, and had found no time yet to prepare either an army, or to take any measures, when at once news came that Ahmed-Shah, the Abdaly, was again marching to Lahor. Unprepared as Mir-Mannoo must have been, he was obliged to present himself against that monarch; but as neither party had sufficiently prepared themselves for a decisive engagement, the Viceroy thought it better to shake the chain of friendship and accommodation, in the Abdaly's ears, and to smother a fire that had not yet broke out in a flame. The Abdaly who was no better prepared, was glad to hear that the affair took such a turn, and he agreed to retire, on the Viceroy's promising to him the revenue of four districts that had always been appointed to defray the pay of the garrison of Cabul: a condition which Nadyr-Shah had likewise stipulated: these were Syal-Cot, Aorengabad, G8djr4t, and Pursurvur: and this condition being accepted, he retired to his own dominions, and left the Vizir at liberty to follow his scheme against the Rohilas.

Troubles in  
M8ltan quashed.

THIS minister no sooner heard of the state of affairs at Moorad-abad, than sensible that he had benefited in every sense, by the defeat of one of the two parties, he resolved to avail himself of it so far as to recover those countries from the hands of the survivors. With this view he came out of the city with the Emperor, on the first day of Zilhij, and took up his re-

The Vizir marches against the Rohillas.

tory of Kerbelah, where every thing is stiff clay. Great miracles are ascribed to the holy clay, and no Shya will pray unless he has before him a piece of that clay twice bigger and thicker than an English crown, on which he never fails to lay his fore-head in every one of the numerous protestations which characterise the Mahometan prayers. A little of that clay is likewise put in a dead man's hands, and he is buried with it. It is given to the sick, and vast numbers of them daily recover; and as it is likewise greatly instrumental in procuring the remission of sins, it is held by them as a miraculous Panacea. Hence the reason of that clay's being called the clay of health as well as mercy.

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 fidence in tents. In a few days he arrived at Kevol, where leaving the Emperor behind, he advanced himself to the river Gundj, which is only at twenty cosses from Feroḥ-abad. This approach intimidated Cäim-Qhan's mother, Consort to Mahmed-Qhan Rohila, who finding herself shut up in the place without any resource, submitted to necessity, and paid in money and effects a contribution to the amount of sixty lacs. After this the Vizir called Saad-ollah-Qhan to an account for the elephants, horses, equipage, and artillery, which had belonged to the vanquished, and also for the Nazur-ana due to the Imperial treasury; and got from him a large sum, but which did not become public. On hearing of this success the Emperor returned to this palace, and a few days after he celebrated the Nö8-r8z, which fell on the 12th of the second Reby of the same year. Meanwhile the Vizir who had tarried some time about Feroḥ-abad, was busy in receiving the promised sums, and in taking possession of the country of the Bangash Afghans; but he thought proper to leave untouched the city of Feroḥ-abad and the twelve districts round the same, which had been Bangash's Altumghah or irrevocable fief ever since Feroḥ-Syur's reign: he left the whole for the subsistence of Cäim-Qhan's mother and family. Having in this manner recovered in a little time the stipulated sums and effects, he sent for Nevol-räy the deputy he had left at A8d, and put under his care and absolute authority the whole of the conquests he had lately made, after which he returned to the capital.

This Nevol-Räy, who was originally a Cäet by tribe, and of the lowest officers of Ab8i-Man83r-Qhan's household, had rendered his master so many services, and he had become so very agreeable to him, that he was promoted to high offices, made his deputy throughout the whole government, and rose to so much favour, as to be equalled by no one man in the service. This deputy took up his residence in the city of Cannodge (-o), the private appa-

(70) Cannodge on the Ganges has been the capital of India fifteen hundred years ago, as it has been likewise for thousand of years before that period. It was surrounded by lofty walls of twenty leagues in circuit, which in a country so very continent as India, contained no less than fifty thousand prostitutes, paying a tax, and as many shops for Paan or Beets. If that be so, it must have been as big as Delhi has been under Mahmed Shah, and must have contained as well as this two millions of souls. This immense city although partly inhabited, is now in ruins, as is Delhi itself, where grass grows abundantly in the streets.

nage of his master's, and only at twenty coffes from Feroh-abad; from whence he spread his officers and collectors all over the country. He also seized most of the brothers of Cäim-Qhan, I mean such as were from other mothers, together with some trusty slaves of the family, and sent them all prisoners to the castle of Ilah-abad; at the same time his violences and extortions rose to such an excess, that they became the real cause of the troubles and mighty events that followed. Cäim-Qhan's mother sent word of all this to Ahmed-Qhan, her half-brother, an officer of consequence in the Vizir's service; and she informed him that "*the honor of the Afghan nation was gone, as well as that of his father's; but that if there remained any sense of pride in him, now was the time to produce it, and to approve himself a true Afghan.*" She likewise sent messages full of taunts and reproaches to all the Afghan chiefs of the neighbourhood. The Afghans roused by these messages assembled in troops, and swore every one to each other that they would not part society, untill they had destroyed both Nevol-räy and his power, and recovered their own country. Nevol-räy informed of this general revolt, applied to the Vizir for assistance; and mean while he came out of Cannodje with the troops he had under his command, and he entrenched himself in expectation of the succours which had been already dispatched. The Vizir having taken his leave of the Emperor, came out of the city, and encamped at the ford of Anbely, on the banks of the Djumnah, where he took up his residence in a seat until he had assembled all his troops. In a few days he dispatched Nassyr-eddin-Haider-Qhan, his brother in law, together with Mahmed-aaly-Qhan, a commander of character, to Nevol-räy's assistance; and two days after, he dispatched likewise Ismäil-beg-Qhan, called the slave-boy, a very trusty commander of his, on the same errand. This was followed by Radja Debi-Dutt, fodjdar of Kevol. But before these succours could come up, Ahmed-Qhan had already appeared with a large body of Afghans before Nevol-räy's intrenchment; and that officer who had already quitted the Vizir's service, and wanted to put the deputy off his guard, had undertaken to amuse him with a variety of messages about an accommodement; the negotiation was kept on foot, until the tenth of Ra-

The Afghans roused by the message of Cäim Qhan's mother, raise upon Nevol-ray.



mazan, when there appeared at once a great body of Afghan horses in the front of Nevol-rây's intrenchment, where was all his artillery; and whilst his attention was taken up with these, a large body of infantry turned his camp, and falling on his rear, penetrated through his intrenchment, and marched streight to his quarters, where they cut him down. This execution was done so rapidly that Ata-ollah-Qhan, one of the best officers of the camp, (whom we have mentioned, in Ali-verdi-Qhan's history, as a nobleman, who had married Rabiah-begum, and of course was son-in-law to Hadji-Ahmed,) found just time to fly to Nevol-rây's assistance with his troops, and to lay down his head at his feet: he was slain together with a number of brave soldiers and gentlemen, who distinguished themselves on that occasion, and set out in company for the kingdoms of eternity: they were mostly of the environs of A8d and Lucknow, and especially of Belgram, a town in the neighbourhood of the latter city, and famous for the hereditary bravery of it's inhabitants. The artillery as well as every thing in camp, fell a prey to the Afghans. This intelligence being carried to the Vizir, seemed to affect him much more sensibly than the troubles that were rising in Decan, a part of the Empire which seemed now quite independent.

NASSYR-DJUNG, second son and successor of Nizam-el-Mulk, having been sent for this year by the Emperor, had advanced to the banks of the Nerbedda, with about seventy or eighty thousand horses, all old troops; but as the Emperor did not like his coming so well accompanied, he wrote him a letter with his own hand to inform him that he had altered his mind, and given him liberty to return; an order which the other complied with the more readily, as he had just been informed that his own sister's son, Hedaïet-Muhi-eddin-Qhan, surnamed Muzafer-djung, pretended to independence in Decan; he therefore returned and soon arrived at his capital, where he gave rise to some events which we reserve for the subsequent sheets: Our intention being now to go on with the Vizir's expedition.

THE defeat of Nevol-rây having made a deep impression on that minister's mind, at the very time he was himself marching to his assistance, he

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On the month of Shaaban of the year 1163 returned to the capital, and took a fresh leave of the Emperor; on which occasion Issac-Qhan, and Mir-Baca son to the late Camer-Eddin-Qhan, were ordered to attend him with the Imperial troops. As the Vizir was setting out, he was complimented by the Emperor with a sabre, a buckler, and a coat of mail, together with a variety of other curious things, the Emperor being desirous of shewing him every kind of regard, and of raising his character in the opinion of mankind. Issac-Qhan received a fatch-pitch and a Sabre, but Mir-Baca, a fatch-pitch only; and both were ordered to obey the Vizir's orders. The latter setting out at the head of his troops, marched twenty coffes in three or four days, at which time he received farther news about Nevöl-räy and the country under his command. He was then at Barr, a large town inhabited only by Seyds: there he assembled his troops; and he also sent for my father, a nobleman of whom he had made a friend, and whom he had appointed to the command of Pani-pßt and Son-pßt. Having spent about a month in the several fairs round Barr, he found himself at the head of seventy thousand horses; but before his departure there happened a strange event, of which the by-standers drew a bad omen for his expedition.

On the eighteenth of Ramazan, a camel-driver belonging to a Mogul, chanced to cut down a tree which grew at the door of one Enäiet-Qhan, a man in the Vizir's service. The latter trusting to his master's high power, seized the driver and chastised him as he deserved. On this the other camel-drivers assembled in a body and went to complain to the Mogul, who was a commander of a body of horse in the army. The Mogul sent his people to fetch Enäiet-Qhan: On which a multitude of horse and foot ran to Enäiet-Qhan's house; and some one who knew nothing of the quarrel, having chanced to say, on looking at those armed men, that an order had come for sacking the town: this word seemed to be taken up as a signal for a general plunder; all the mogul officers of the camp with their country men, got up in an instant, it being in the after-noon, and fell like so many incarnated devils on the inhabitants of that unfortunate town, which they ruined

The Town of Barr, wholly inhabited by Seyds is sacked by the Vizir's Mogul-Troops.

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in a little time: They also killed Enaïet-Qhan and his son, a youth of eighteen. On the first report of the tumult, the Vizir had dispatched Haider-Qhan with a number of Nissiqhchies to put a stop to the disorder, and to drive away the plunderers. But untill this officer could arrive, and untill the Nissiqhchies could make an impression upon them, all was over. Vast numbers of people were slain; and the consorts and children of so many Sëyds, and of so many people of the better sort, who inhabited that town, were carried in captivity, and experienced every usage which an unbridled soldiery could inflict. Women, children, furniture, every thing was made plunder of. Haider-Qhan, after having exerted himself the whole night, was so lucky about the dawn of the day, as to assemble a number of captives, which he drew one by one from the tents of those accursed Moguls, and he lodged them together in a set of tents which the Vizir had ordered to be pitched on purpose for them. This minister himself had passed that whole night without going to bed; he was often observed to shed a flood of tears; nor could he be prevailed to eat any thing the whole next day, which he spent in inquiring after so many matrons that had never set a foot out of a house, and were now in the hands of his soldiers: these he sent to their homes. Children of all ages which those accursed men had concealed in fosses of their own digging, which they had covered with branches of trees and with turf, were found out, brought to the Vizir, and returned to their disconsolate friends. On beholding that universal desolation, one might have said that the last day of the world was come for that unfortunate town; and that it had undergone the supreme judge's sentence. Nothing was heard but sobs and lamentations both there and all over the plain. The Vizir sent to the wretched inhabitants the head of the Mogul commander.—But to what purpose? Past was what was past, and it was irremediable. Two days after that dreadful event, that minister left Bar, and moved forwards; but people had already commenced to say, that his expedition would not be attended with success, and they applied to him and to his men, these known verses of Saady:

“ That smoke which you see does not rise from that Rue you are burning;  
 “ That smoke rises chiefly from the oppressed man's heart.”

THE two armies being in sight of each other, the Vizir sent for my father, who was now a chief commander in Ismael-Qhan's troops; and as he had long governed at Bereily and Morad-abad, and was acquainted with the Rohilas and with their manner of waging war and of engaging an enemy, he requested to hear his advice and opinion. My father answered, "*That these people dealt very much in ambuscades, and feints; that their custom was to appear in great numbers, and after a slight combat to draw the enemy into some snare, when they turned about again, and faced him afresh. But that whenever such a stratagem of theirs failed of success, it was their practice to turn their backs, and to fly in earnest, as soon as they were sensible of their being pursued slowly and with caution. His opinion was therefore that as the Moguls were troops that could be relied upon, it would be proper that a body of three or four thousand of them should be ordered to advance a little before the Vizir's elephant, but on foot, and with their musquets and wall-pieces ready, in order to have a body of Musqueteers at hand, should the enemy make a show of some ambuscade.*" My noble father was yet speaking when he was interrupted by Ismael-beg-Qhan, who tired of the length of the advice, said that to-morrow he would seize Ahmed-Qhan's wife and children, and bring them fast in a corner of his bow. To this my father said not a word. The next day, at day-break the Vizir after performing his prayers, ordered his canon to march in front and upon the wings, and having ranged his troops in the best order, he advanced with a slow pace. At about nine o'clock, the engagement commenced, by a discharge of canon and musquets on both sides, and it continued for sometime in the same manner. Afterwards, Radjah S8r8dy-mull, the Djatt, who commanded at the right wing, and Ismael-beg-Qhan, who commanded at the left, advanced on a gallop, and charged so vigorously R8stem-Qhan and some other Afghan commanders, that they drew every where smoke from their breasts: pursuing their point, they covered the ground with six or seven thousand of the best men amongst the Afghan horses. The rest retired reluctantly, but being vigorously pursued they fled at last, and dispersed.

The Vizir attacks the Rohilas.



perfed. At this ve only one dead Ber-chunder-Mehender, who had out-marched both the an; the latter of Ifmaïl-beg-Qhan, proved to be separated from his main, an the head of a vizir's fight; and that minifter being occupied in perpetual hand, and by thofe two generals, canon, rockets and ammunition, had a firmnefs. own front that it remained unfurnished with thofe neceffary Moguls had by empty of troops: the fun was inclining to the weft and the and Mahmed parted afunder. The minifter no fooner obferved this diforder, heir way to er faw that the Gentoo prince was already out of fight, than from his flected what my father had told him, and he was cafting his eye in to discover fomething like an ambufcade, when at once Ahme ps, in with a choice body of Afghan horfes fuddenly made his appearance in the engagement, which feemed at an end, re-commenced with fury. Luckily it happened, whether by a particular interpoftion of the divine Providence or otherwife, that Camcar-Qhan, the fodjar of the fuburbs of the capital, who was neareft to the Vizir's body of troops, unable to ftand the violent fire of mufquetry and rockets inceffantly poured by a body of Afghan foot that now made their appearance, had turned about and fled: it is even reported that he was actually in concert with Ahmed-Qhan-Bangafh, and that his flight was premeditated:— Be it as it will, the Moguls of the two wings finding themfelves almoft left alone, loft their wonted firmnefs; and this being obferved by the Vizir, he immediately difpatched to their affiftance both Mahmed-aly-Qhan the colonel, and Noor-el-Haffen-Qhan the Belgramite, with their troops. But there was fuch a quantity of loofe Elephants and loofe Horfes on the field of battle, that the paffage feemed blocked up every where. Noor-el-Haffen-Qhan however opened his way thro' them, as did a little after, Abdol-Neby, one of Mahmed-Aly-Qhan's flaves: this laft troop amounted to about four hundred horfes, and thefe two bodies cutting their way both thro' the loofe horfes and thro' the enemy, reached the Vizir's troops, which were divided from their main. But as the Moguls were already flying, the arrival of fo brave a body, proved of no avail, and thefe two officers

officers, obliged to turn about, the Vizir, in the left wing: as they were advancing, they discovered beh. sh-abad, who of two or three thousand foot, supported by a body of cavalry, sent his son coming from the left, but which by their long faces and long t. himself evidently to be enemies (71); by this time most of the artillery, and A sent to the support of the advanced troops, so that no firing was. Merhamet-ah in any cannon that might support those two brave bodies. I with the foot they cut their way back and joined their friends, when facing a's death, made a general discharge upon their pursuers, and stretched numbers his people upon the ground; but here too this succour proved of no avail: the of's were already flying, and although the officers made a stand, their example was not followed by the others. The battle had become general in wings, and few people cared to stand their ground: amongst those that distinguished themselves eminently, few were regretted so much as Haider-Qhan, brother-in-law to the Vizir; like a famished lion, he with a small body, threw himself amongst the Afghan's and was observed to kill seven men with his own hand; he was slain at last, and he hastened to enjoy the parterres of Gulip in the gardens of eternity. N8r-el-hassen-Qhan was wounded with a musket-ball, as was Mahmed-aly-Qhan; Mir-gh8lam-Nebi, the Poet of Belgram, although much wounded, found means to escape; but Mir-azim-eddin-Qhan, one of the bravest Seyds of Belgram, followed Haider-Qhan, and hastened with him into the regions of eternity: and now the danger came close to the Vizir's person: the Afghans surrounded his elephant, without knowing who it was. The driver fell down dead: Mirza-aly-Naky, tutor to Shudjah-edd8lah, the Vizir's son, was struck by a musket-ball, as he was sitting behind the Vizir, and fell: the Vizir himself received a ball in his throat, and fell in a swoon within the häodah. Luckily for him, that it was a war-häodah, and barded in brass; so that the Vizir having fallen within, was secured from further wounds, and nothing appeared of him but his head. Nor was his falling into a swoon, of small use to save his life; the Afghans seeing

The Vizir defeated & wounded.

(71) The Moguls have round faces, and short beards: The Hindostanies, oval beautiful faces, and smooth chins.

the häodah empty, with only one dead man in it, left it and went forwards, where they met Iffac-Qhan; the latter cried aloud that he was the Vizir: he was well mounted, and at the head of a body that stuck close to him: charging his pursuers sabre in hand, and he made them give way after which he retired slowly and with firmness. The whole army was retreating by this time, and all the Moguls had lost their honour and character, when Noor-ul-hassen-Qhan and Mahmed-aly-Qhan seeing the Vizir's elephant unaccompanied, cut their way to it with a few followers, and found that the Vizir had recovered from his swoon; the minister on recovering his senses ordered the music to play in token of victory, to try whether such a stratagem would not recall the troops, but it answered no purpose: finding that a panic had seized them all, he turned his elephant about, without having any one round his person, save those two officers, and two or three hundred Moguls and Hindostanies. After the Vizir's retreat, my father, who followed at a distance, seeing the field of battle empty, stopped to bring up some canon that seemed in tolerable order; and having exerted himself in calling together the dispersed people of the artillery, he arrived at night near the Vizir's quarters, none having remained in that field of battle, so long as himself; and it was midnight before he reached the Vizir's tent. The latter having ordered Noor-el-Hassen-Qhan to inquire after some medicines for his wound, was in a little time served; but it became necessary to make use of some fire. In the morning the Vizir quitted Marher were he had passed the night, and marched forwards, without hardly any baggage or any of the sutlers and other followers of the army: the ungrateful Moguls, after having fled from the enemy, had attacked their friends, and plundered most of those useful people; the rest had been set upon by the peasants, and made away with. Still on his departure from Marher, he found himself at the head of something like an army; and he continued his journey, untill he arrived upon the banks of the Djumnah, over against old Delhi, which is commonly called Shah-Djehan-abad; and where we shall leave him to see what use the Afghans made of their victory.

AHMED

AHMED-QHAN, after this victory over the Vizir, fancied himself able to conquer the two Provinces of A8d and Ilah-abad, which might have been said to be that minister's appanage. He sent his son Mahm8d-Qhan with a body of troops to the conquest of A8d, whilst himself undertook to take the castle of Ilah-abad, from Baca-ollah-Qhan, and Aly-c8ly-Qhan the Daghistany (72). Baca-ollah-Qhan is son of Merhamet-aly-Qhan, brother to the late Emir-Qhan, who had presented him with the fodydary of Corrah, in the Viceroyalty of Ilah-abad. After his uncle's death, he had accepted the Vizir's invitation, and had attached himself to his person. He was then at Ilah-abad with Aly-c8ly-Qhan, a dependant of Seyd-Mahmed-Qhan, the deputy governor, and an ancient servant of Emir-Qhan's house, these two officers thinking it dishonorable to submit to a Bangash, quitted the city, where they had too few men to be able to make any defence, and shut themselves in the castle, which they both resolved to defend to the last extremity: they threw a bridge of boats over the Dujmna, under the walls of the fort, and thereby prepared themselves for receiving succours and provisions.

The Afghans  
besiege and plunder  
Ilah-abad.

THERE happened to be then on the shores of the Ganga, and quite close to the castle of Ilah-abad (73), a certain Saniaffi-fakir, very brave, and well accompanied, who spent his time in his devotions to Maha-de8. This man shocked to see the ravages committed by the Afghans, he had without any invitation, resolved to join his cause to that of Baca-ollah-Qhan and of the others that were shut up in the castle; but although was requested to come within its walls, he constantly refused it, and contented himself with encamping with his brave slave-boys and his people

(72) Daghistan is a little mountainous province of Iran or Persia, inhabited by Sunni-turks or Tatars. It is so called from Dagh, which signifies mountain in the Turkish language.

(73) Ilah-abad, called by the Gentoos Prag and Priag, is a famous place for Gentoo worship; there is a Subterraneous chapel, where they shew a fallen tree that is in vegetation ever since Maha-De8 or the grand saint, that is the first man, who travelled thither from Cassi or the terrestrial Paradise, that is Banarefs. We have seen the stump of the tree, and at the first sight found it to be a Djigul: a tree which never dries, and the trunk of which altho' cut into ever so many chips, never fails to produce a tree, if planted. By counting our paces in and out of the cavern, we found, that the tree cannot be at forty paces distance from the Ganges, with which probably it has a subterraneous communication. The visiting that chapel, as well as the subsequent purification in the Ganges produce a great revenue to government. This tree and chapel are in the castle, much nearer the Ganges than to the Dujmna.